

THE HIGHLAND MIGRANT IN LOWLAND BOLIVIA:  
REGIONAL MIGRATION AND THE DEPARTMENT OF SANTA CRUZ

By

ALLYN MAC LEAN STEARMAN

A DISSERTATION PRESENTED TO THE GRADUATE COUNCIL OF  
THE UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA  
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE  
DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA

1976

UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA



3 1262 08666 472 8

*To Mike, Garrett and Erin--*

*who somehow survived it all.*

## PREFACE

It is unreasonable to return to a place and expect to find it unchanged. Even so, it seems part of human nature to carry the hope that old hauntings will appear just as they have been etched in memory. I was well aware of all this before returning to lowland Bolivia after a six-years' absence and so perhaps overcompensated by convincing myself that little would be as it had been. In fact, both situations proved to be the case. I found many things unchanged by time: buildings were as I had remembered them, the warm, outgoing lowlanders were still very much in evidence, and old friends had aged somewhat but were nevertheless the same people. But I also encountered many alterations in the physical and social aspects of the Department of Santa Cruz. People were beginning to move in large numbers to the capital of the region, the city of Santa Cruz. New roads had been completed, more land was under cultivation, and perhaps most unexpectedly, numerous enclaves of highland Bolivians were now visible throughout the lowlands.

Originally I had planned on returning to eastern Bolivia to study the movement of highland migrants through



the agricultural colonies--where they came from and where they were going. I was quite unprepared, however, to find that colonization no longer was the only significant realm of migrant activity but that highlanders were to be found in every corner of the Santa Cruz area. It was then that I realized that I had been presented with a very unique opportunity--that of being in a position to investigate migration on a regional scale and not as a small facet of a larger process. Thus I set about the new task of discovering and reporting the several problems of migration causality, motivations and strategies, and the patterns and processes involved in flows of migrants in the Department of Santa Cruz. The results of that investigation are presented in this dissertation.

My return to Bolivia in 1975 and subsequent financial assistance during the preparation of this dissertation were made possible by a Latin American Dissertation Fellowship awarded by the Social Science Research Council. I am especially grateful to Ms. Marylou Hofmann and Ms. Adele Chodorow of SSRC for their consistent support while I was in the field. Great distances often thwart the best efforts of all, but both of these very competent individuals always responded forthwith to my queries and requests. Life in eastern Bolivia would have been a great deal more difficult without the assistance of Marylou and Adele.

### Arriving in the Field

I returned to Santa Cruz not as I had first arrived there in 1964. The recent college graduate, eager for adventure, footloose with few responsibilities, out-to-save-the-world Peace Corps volunteer was now a 31-year-old married woman with two children, a mortgaged house, and an employed husband who, as a true Economic Man, decided at the last minute that it would be much more rational to return to his job in Florida after helping to get us settled in Bolivia. Thus we arrived in Santa Cruz on Christmas Day with 300 pounds of luggage, a three-year-old son and a six-week-old daughter. As we stood in the blistering heat with two travel-weary children waiting for a taxi, my only thought was, PERSEVERE!

We did persevere. Thanks to the efforts and thoughtfulness of many friends, I was able to find a suitable house to rent in the city of Santa Cruz, furnish it with basic necessities, and begin a semblance of normalcy in our lives. Adela Campos and Nelfy León contributed long hours keeping up with cooking, washing and child care so that I would be free to do fieldwork. Father Raymond Cowell, and old friend from the village where I had worked as a Peace Corps volunteer provided moral support on dark days, became a surrogate father for my son on many occasions, and was always available for emergencies.

While living in the city of Santa Cruz, I also had the benefit of the friendship of Dr. Daniel Candia, the Dean of the Department of Humanities at the Universidad Boliviana Gabriel René Moreno. He kindly provided me with a great deal of background information and made available office space where I could work uninterrupted by family. I am also grateful to the staff at Obras Públicas, especially Guido Ardaya and Ulrich Reye for providing current statistical data as well as names of persons who could contribute to my research.

After six months of city life, both a need to be in closer contact with the remaining study areas and a desire to share once again in village life prompted me to pack up the household and relocate in San Carlos, my old Peace Corps duty station. This change of residence would have been impossible without the assistance of a good friend, Margarita León, who found us a vacant house to rent and also generously offered us the use of her kerosene refrigerator during our four-month stay in the village.

It was wonderful to return to the hinterlands where life remained much as I had remembered it. My family and I were warmly welcomed, and many evenings were spent with friends and neighbors reminiscing about old times and relating experiences and happenings which

had occurred during my six-year absence. There was a constant stream of village children in the house, and both of my offspring never lacked for entertainment. My son Garrett was immediately accepted into the crowd of Sancarleño youth who not only offered him unfailing companionship, but also taught him the rules of survival in a strange and often hostile environment.

Acknowledgement is also due the village priest, Padre Tito Solari, who provided census data which he and his assistants had collected in the nearby Yapacaní colony.

To all those in San Carlos, then, I express my most profound gratitude.

### General Procedures

Interviews conducted in the city of Santa Cruz along with preliminary site visits to localities throughout the region led to the selection of five study areas. These were chosen according to several criteria including socio-economic diversity, both rural and urban orientations, and importance to the current trends in migration patterns and processes in the department. Eleven months were spent in conducting the study, apportioned to each site as follows: (1) the city of Santa Cruz, four months; (2) the town of Warnes, one month; (3) the city of Montero, two months; (4) the village of San Carlos and (5) the

agricultural colonies of Yapacaní and San Julián studied simultaneously, four months.

The study began in the city of Santa Cruz.

Quite by accident I had rented a house in the midst of one of the largest migrant neighborhoods in the city. Thus participant observation of migrant life as a barrio resident was possible. I spent an initial three weeks driving through every residential sector of Santa Cruz, talking to people and mapping out the areas where highlanders were residing. Previous familiarity with the city shortened the chore considerably as did assistance by friends who knew their city well. Once the location of the migrant barrios had been ascertained, a preliminary interview guide was drawn up and tested in the field. After revisions had been made, the guide was then used as the basis for semi-structured interviews of migrants living in the highland barrios of the city. This same guide was employed throughout the study to provide for comparability of data, with changes or additions being made as the situation demanded.

From Santa Cruz I next began traveling back and forth to Warnes, a farming community 30 kilometers north of the city of Santa Cruz. Warnes provided additional data on population movement and also contributed necessary information relating to rural migrants. My first point of attack in Warnes was the parish priest and a

small community of Mexican nuns working in the town. This particular tactic proved useful in other areas as well, since the town curate, if he has been a local resident for any length of time, usually is a font of information. The priest and nuns outlined the recent history of settlement by highlanders in Warnes and located the migrant neighborhoods for me on a small map of the town. I then began interviewing barrio residents while at the same time learning the spatial relationship of migrant areas to the rest of the town. Working in Warnes was relatively painless. The highlanders were for the most part willing to be questioned, and the lowlanders welcomed me openly--perhaps because of my obvious Cruceñan dialect.

From Warnes I traveled another 30 kilometers down the road to Montero, a secondary urban center. Montero furnished an entirely new set of data and was probably the single most important locality in providing major keys to understanding the process of rural migration in the department. It was an extremely difficult study site, however. Part of the problem was in my own attitude toward the city. I had never found Montero a very attractive place nor had I found the residents to be particularly friendly toward me. My return to Montero did not alter any of these earlier prejudices. The highlanders living there seemed to reflect many of the

same characteristics I had complained about with reference to the lowland populace. They were at best indifferent to my questions and at worst quite hostile. When I reached a point where I felt that sufficient information had been obtained, it was with great relief that I began planning for the next segment of my research, the village of San Carlos.

Traveling back and forth from the city of Santa Cruz to San Carlos would have meant a jaunt of more than 180 kilometers each day, an impossibility in terms of time and expense. The latter problems along with a desire to return to life in the country contributed to my decision to move to San Carlos where a study of migrants in the village could be accomplished simultaneously with that of the colonists residing in the Yapacanf settlement. Once again, participant observation was employed along with use of the interview guide which had been modified for the new study situations.

It should be noted that all of the research sites except for the new San Julián colony were known to me because of my earlier residence in the lowlands. Thus a comparative base of information was available from a period when migration of highlanders to Santa Cruz was in only an initial phase. This previous experience was of inestimable value in assessing the changes in lowland social patterns along with the causes and effects of differential streams of migration in the region.

### Preparation of the Data

The large city of Santa Cruz migrant sample was of sufficient size and diversity to warrant computer analysis, and I wish to thank Anne Dudasik for her assistance in preparing a program to be run by the Northeast Regional Data Center at Gainesville. She was also most helpful in the interpretation of the results obtained from the computer analysis. Much of the remaining data were tabulated with the assistance of my husband, Michael Stearman.

During the preparation of the thesis, Stephen Dudasik devoted long and often tedious hours to critical comment and editing of the manuscript. I would also like to thank my chairman, Dr. William Carter, for his critical evaluation and editorial assistance.

To my mother-in-law, Leola Meyer, another debt is owed for her contribution of having typed the first draft. She sacrificed numerous evenings and weekends to help me meet deadlines. I would also like to thank typist Pat Whitehurst, who prepared the final copy of the thesis, and graphic artists Nancy Faller and Jeff Whitehurst for their maps and charts.

All translations in the text from Spanish to English are my own, as are, of course, any errors, oversights, or omissions.



## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
PREFACE .....	iii
ABSTRACT .....	xiv
CHAPTER	
ONE      MIGRATION AND THE DEPARTMENT OF SANTA CRUZ: A THEORETICAL STATEMENT .....	1
The Myth of the Static Society .....	4
Strategies and Decision-Making .....	4
Patterns of Migration .....	12
The Search for Nomothetic Principles of Migration .....	23
The Regional Approach to Migration in the Department of Santa Cruz .....	30
TWO      THE DEPARTMENT OF SANTA CRUZ .....	36
THREE    MIGRATION TO A PRIMATE CITY: SANTA CRUZ DE LA SIERRA .....	75
The City .....	76
Settlement Zones .....	79
The Migrant Barrios .....	86
Settlement Similarities in Highland and Lowland Migrant Barrios .....	91
The Highland/Lowland Settlement Dichotomy ..	101
The Highland Migrant in the City of Santa Cruz .....	120
FOUR     WARNES: CANE, COTTON AND CONTRACT HARVESTING .....	150
Farmers and Harvesters .....	152
The Townspeople .....	169

	<u>Page</u>
	177
	194
FIVE	202
	203
	214
	226
	232
	238
SIX	253
	257
	268
	285
SEVEN	287
	289
	304
	312
	326
	334
EIGHT	346
	347
	350
	353
	356
	365
	375
	392
	399
REFERENCES CITED	405
BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH	413

Abstract of Dissertation Presented to the Graduate Council  
of the University of Florida in Partial Fulfillment of the  
Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

THE HIGHLAND MIGRANT IN LOWLAND BOLIVIA:  
REGIONAL MIGRATION AND THE DEPARTMENT OF SANTA CRUZ

By

Allyn Mac Lean Stearman

August, 1976

Chairman: William E. Carter  
Major Department: Anthropology

This dissertation treats the phenomenon of migration in the Department of Santa Cruz, Bolivia, and examines the movement of highlanders into and within the region in terms of strategies employed by the migrant unit to adapt to an ever-changing socioeconomic environment. Unlike previous studies, migration is dealt with both in the rural and urban spheres and is presented not as a series of individual, isolated experiences but as a system of interrelated population streams which manifest distinctive configurations. Within each stream, numerous strategies and types of migration emerge as mechanisms for optimizing resources. The study also tests several hypotheses concerning migration process and presents a typology of migration patterns which have been discussed in the literature but which have not been synthesized for analysis. A new concept is introduced in this typology:

multiple resource migration. Lastly, the problems of acculturation are explored in relation to the social changes occurring among the migrants, as well as the dominant lowland populations.

The Department of Santa Cruz has experienced a long history of relative isolation from the rest of the nation and the world. A paved highway from the interior highlands to the lowland region was completed in 1954, and for the first time regular communication between the two areas was possible. Because of the existence of vast reaches of unexploited resources in Santa Cruz as contrasted to the economic, land and population pressures in the highlands, the Bolivian government launched a series of projects to persuade highlanders to colonize the eastern territories. Although several programs were initiated, settlement proceeded slowly. Then, in the late 1960's, the economy of Santa Cruz began to expand rapidly as a result of increased investment in the agricultural and hydrocarbon sectors. The major crops in the department, sugarcane, cotton and rice, required a large labor force during the harvest season, a demand which could not be met by the lowland population. Consequently, highlanders began migrating to Santa Cruz to fill the labor gap. The boom atmosphere of the region also encouraged urban migrants to move to lowland cities, resulting in major migration flows directed from the highlands toward Santa Cruz.

The impact of large-scale migration on the Department of Santa Cruz has been great, and the entire character of the region is undergoing rapid change as a consequence of this acculturative process.

## CHAPTER ONE

### MIGRATION AND THE DEPARTMENT OF SANTA CRUZ: A THEORETICAL STATEMENT

#### The Myth of the Static Society

Population movement, or migration, is as old as the history of humankind itself. The earliest groups of people were transhumant followers of game and plant foods which varied by season and locality. Although this epoch in our cultural evolution lasted longer than any other and remains the way of life for many of the earth's inhabitants, it has been forgotten or ignored by those who maintain that the sedentariness of the agriculturalist exemplifies normative human behavior. Out of this belief has been spawned the myth of the so-called "static society" which, as J. A. Jackson explains,

implies by harking back to some pre-existing rural utopia, that the natural condition of man is sedentary, that movement away from the natal place is a deviant-activity associated with disorganization and a threat to the established harmony of Gemeinschaft relationships which are implied by a life lived within a fixed social framework. (Jackson 1968:3)

Thus migration from one's place of origin and even population movement itself is viewed as a pathological

response to an untenable life situation. Granted, in a great many instances this has been the case. The most well-known migrants in recent history involved tens of thousands of persons who were forced from their homes as the result of natural disasters as well as those created by man. The potato famine of Ireland sent boat-loads of Irish countrymen to the shores of North America. Both of the World Wars displaced countless individuals and brought chaos to their lives. The "La Violencia" era in modern Colombian history provoked a large-scale migration of rural folk into the country's urban centers to escape the bloody consequences of a political feud. And in 1970, the Peruvian earthquake, perhaps the worst natural disaster to occur in recorded history of the western hemisphere, left nearly 500,000 persons homeless. Many of those from the mountain hinterlands of North-Central Peru flooded into towns and departmental capitals to obtain food and shelter, and many have remained there to the present day.

The magnitude of human suffering and sacrifice characteristic of such events has led to much of the negativistic attitude associated with migration. But there is another side to the coin. People leave homes and farms not only as disaster evacuees or refugees but also as individuals with positive goals of finding better opportunities. Many migrants view temporary or permanent

relocation as a means of expanding their access to available resources. The hunting and gathering peoples as well as nomadic pastoralists certainly make use of migration as an adaptive mechanism for resource exploitation. But there are sedentary peoples as well who have institutionalized certain patterns of migration. In the Andes, for example, villages commonly send members on long trading forays into other regions to obtain goods not normally available in the home area. Other Andean communities establish colonies in numerous ecological zones in order to diversify access to agricultural products (cf. Murra 1972). The myth of the static society, then, is just that--a myth. Because a population has a history of sedentism does not necessarily imply that movement away from the natal place automatically incurs disorganization and disorientation among the migrant group.

Those who become migrants are often the world's poor--the peasants of Europe, the campesinos of Latin America and the tribal peoples of Africa and Asia. A comment was once made at a symposium dealing with migration that it is interesting how middle-class Americans "move" from one place to another while other individuals in less affluent circumstances "migrate." Although the semantic differences between these two words are slight, the use of two discreet terms to describe one activity is significant. While population "movement" has tended



to be viewed as a commonly occurring social process in industrialized societies, "migration" in the Third World is viewed as correlated with social disorganization and discontinuity. Once again, the belief seems to exist that movement is normal for those who are members of highly technological societies but abnormal for those who are not. The migration of highland Bolivians into the lowland department of Santa Cruz further dispells this static society concept. Migrants frequently exhibit a lifestyle which includes multiple migrations in the highlands and lowlands. In many of these cases, migration is considered an appropriate means of expanding one's economic resources and is not perceived in negative terms. In this regard, Anthony Richmond has emphasized that

migration, like other forms of occupational and social mobility, has become a functional imperative. . . . It facilitates the allocation of human resources in a way which is not only more productive economically but also enables the individual to optimize his own material and social satisfactions by widening a range of opportunity and choice open to him. (Richmond 1968:245)

#### Strategies and Decision-Making

Whether rural or urban poor, the migrant frequently has been portrayed in the tradition of Oscar Lewis' Puerto Rican and Mexican migrant families, caught up in the stream of a "culture of poverty" which

inexorably sweeps them uncontrollably through life (Lewis 1965). One is left with the impression that migrants have very little, if any, power of self-determination. In spite of Lewis' examples, most migratory activities involve the interplay of definite motives and strategies which affect the migrant's movement through time and space. Prospective migrants are presented with several alternatives for action, and some choice must be exercised in order to determine the most advantageous of these in terms of individual priorities and needs. This choice is influenced to a large degree by the background and personal attributes of the migrants. In Huaylas, Peru, a study of pairs of brothers, one who had migrated and one who had not, demonstrated that factors such as educational skills, independence and age determined not only the likelihood of migration but also affected the selection of the point of destination (Bradfield 1973).

In a similar manner, highlanders who migrate to lowland Bolivia are presented with numerous destination alternatives. The researcher discovered that migrant background along with the nature of the place of origin (whether urban or rural) had major influence on the particular migrant strategy employed. Once in the new environment, however, additional strategies came into play as new income or settlement opportunities were presented. Migration to the Department of Santa Cruz, for example,

may have been based on an original set of operational plans, but once the initial move from the highlands had been made, alternatives to permit subsequent migrations to diversify or expand available resources became incorporated into these strategies. A homologous situation has occurred in Lima, Peru, among the migrant population arriving from the Peruvian mountain regions. Here, migrants frequently take up residence in the crowded inner-city zone where they find assistance in obtaining jobs and shelter through the activation of kinship networks and as the result of contacts made through regional associations. Living in central Lima is expensive and uncomfortable, so the migrant frequently will join an organized group of individuals with similar problems which stages an "invasion" of public or private land on the outskirts of the city. In this manner a new homesite is obtained in the *barriada* at relatively little cost and the migrant has improved his living situation significantly (Turner 1970). It is probable that the Peruvian *serrano* (highlander) left his or her place of origin with the primary intent of migrating to the capital city of Lima. A subsequent move out of the central slum of Rimac represents a modification of the original strategy and evolves out of a new set of circumstances affecting the decision-making process. Thus migration strategies tend to be highly flexible mechanisms for

dealing adaptively with a changing physical and social environment.

The decision itself whether to migrate or not is often couched in terms of the push or pull factors which act to influence the migrant. In other words, conditions such as economic decline, lack of job opportunities, diminishing resources, poor or nonexistent educational facilities and isolation may contribute to "pushing" the migrant from the place of origin. On the other hand, the point of destination also has certain attractions, or "pull," such as adequate employment, better farmland, or the activity and excitement of a large urban center. The concepts of push and pull nevertheless are somewhat simplistic in their approach to motivation for migration. Everett Lee has expanded these basic tenets to include additional factors which may influence the decision-making process of the migrant.

Lee's scheme of motivational factors includes (1) those associated with the area of origin, (2) those associated with the area of destination, (3) the intervening obstacles, and (4) personal factors. The first three have been put into a schematic diagram (see page 8). According to Lee,

in every area there are countless factors which act to hold people to it, and there are others which tend to repel them. These are shown in the

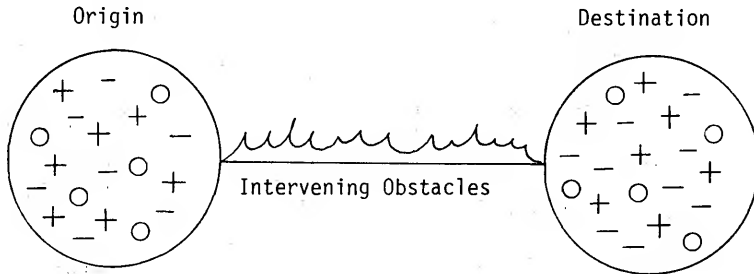


diagram as + and - signs. There are others, shown as o's, to which people are essentially indifferent. Furthermore, between every two points there stands a set of intervening obstacles which may be slight in some instances and insurmountable in others. (Lee 1968:286-287)

Kinship ties and social obligations as well as familiarity with the physical surroundings would be plus factors to remain in the place of origin while economic stagnation and a sense of relative deprivation would be classified as minus characteristics. At the destination site, a lack of adequate housing facilities would be a negative point whereas employment opportunities and educational advantages would fall into the positive realm. Some elements will have a null effect such as the presence or absence of schools in either the place of origin or destination when affecting a childless migrant.

The obstacles between the points of origin and destination may be represented by such problems as distance,

road conditions, and transportation costs, which all will influence the decision to migrate as well as dictate to a certain extent the migration strategies employed.

Finally, personal factors would include those migrant attributes such as were studied by Stillman Bradfield in the Huaylas case to determine the nature and characteristics of the individual who does decide to leave the natal place.

Everett Lee's model incorporates the push-pull aspects of migration theory but has expanded on what in essence amounted to a somewhat restrictive model based only on unimodal polarities. Lee has retained the positive and negative elements of the push-pull approach, but in addition has included in both polarities plus and minus factors as well as those which may have no effect on migrant motivations. Furthermore, the dimensions of intervening obstacles as well as personal characteristics have also been appended to the push-pull scheme.

In analyzing migration flows into the Department of Santa Cruz, Lee's model seems to have particular relevance. For the Bolivian highlander, the lowlands present positive incentives for relocation as well as negative aspects which inhibit it. Likewise, the entire highland area of Bolivia is experiencing grave economic problems which act as negative factors affecting continued residence in small rural communities as well as in the urban

areas. At the same time, the Bolivian interior is the center of highland tradition and culture and contains all that is cherished and dear to the mountain inhabitant-- a strong plus to remain. The intervening obstacles of distance, roads and transportation expense have also had an impact on the differential regional flows of migrants and on highlander settlement patterns throughout the lowlands. Personal factors such as the nature of the Bolivian migrant's place of origin, concomitant skills acquired there and the perception of self have all contributed to the employment of particular strategies in movement from one locality to another.

Single factor explanations of migratory behavior, especially those related to economics, commonly are reported as primary incentives for relocation. While perceived deprivation and economic instability at the place of departure and/or expected opportunities at the destination locality frequently play a major role in migration decision-making, other factors have been shown to act in concert with those of economic origin. As described above, social and psychological components, often somewhat more difficult to identify, will also enter into motivational behavior. Stoltman and Ball, in a study of rural-urban migration in Mexico, have stated

The decision to migrate from one location to another certainly represents a complex of variable impulses in an

inferential probability framework. Migration is predicated upon the analysis of data available to an individual in projecting or predicting his relative well-being (economically, socially, psychologically, etc.) in a new place. (Stoltman and Ball 1971:55)

Unfortunately, the above authors have not considered the same factors as they affect the individual in his evaluation of the point of departure as well. Wilkie, however, has generalized motivational problems to include both polarities, and again stresses the necessary inclusion of other than economic incentives in migration motivational analysis.

The economic component, while important, was found [in Argentina] to be less controlling as a factor in the migration process than many social scientists have normally recognized. The economic factor helps condition the need to migrate, but whether the final decision to migrate is made or not reverts in most cases to the psychological, social, spatial and environmental perceptions and attitudes within the family unit. (Wilkie 1968: 109) (emphasis supplied)

Finally, J. Beaujeu-Garnier in commenting about the emphasis on economic motivations in the decision to migrate notes

It seems, however, difficult to accept such a categorical assertion, for psychological factors play a considerable and often vital part, and in any case, even in a decision urged by precise economic facts, one finds also some other aspects, of which the subject was perhaps barely conscious, but which played its part in the final moment of choice. (Beaujeu-Garnier 1966:212)



### Patterns of Migration

The process of migration may be analyzed in terms of its range of possible dimensions based on factors such as degree of temporality, direction of flow, time sequence, and the nature of the departure and arrival points. Thus an initial typology of migration patterns would include

1. Single-phase migration
2. Temporary or seasonal migration
3. Step migration
4. Sequential migration
5. Chain migration
6. Multiple resource migration

In each case, the nature of the place of origin and the place of destination will be articulated with the migration pattern. The categories "rural" and "urban" in their four combinations commonly are used as origin and destination descriptors. A single-phase migration, for example, might entail a rural-urban move, an urban-rural move, a rural-rural move, or an urban-urban move. It is also important to note that each migration pattern is not mutually exclusive. Seasonal migration could include step and chain migration strategies as well. This latter case might be exemplified by the migrant unit (i. e., an individual, family, or group) which leaves the place of origin on a seasonal basis, but each season

the migrants choose points of destination which progressively are closer to either the rural or urban end of the flow direction continuum. Other individuals might be encouraged by the migrant unit to make the trip as well, thereby contributing to the process of chain migration.

Scott Whiteford and Richard N. Adams (1973) have described a somewhat similar situation among Bolivian migrants working in Argentina. Several seasonal migrations are made from Bolivia each year by the migrant unit, usually in conjunction with a progression toward more urban involvement. At some point the decision is made to remain in Argentina, family members may be sent for, and the process of working toward stable urban Argentine residence commences. According to Whiteford and Adams,

In most cases, the rural-urban proletariat experience is transitory, abandoning work in the zafra [sugarcane harvest] and either joining the urban proletariat or becoming a self-employed urbanite. This decision is usually not made until the migrant and his family feel they are established in the urban environment. (Whiteford and Adams 1973: 11)

Although temporary migration has been included in the typology of migration patterns, the category "permanent migration" has not. Permanent migration is a contradiction in terms and is as ludicrous as the sign advertising "permanent mobile homes." Migration implies

movement, not stability. Permanent residence may occur as the result or purpose of migration but cannot properly be considered as pertaining to the actual migration process. In the next several pages, each of the six migration patterns will be defined and discussed in relation to its relevance to current trends in population movement.

1. Single Phase Migration is defined as the movement of the migratory unit from the place of origin to the place of destination in a single operation.

A great many contemporary as well as historical migration studies encompass this type of movement. The most prevalent today, of course, is the rural-urban migration phenomenon occurring throughout the world.

John C. Caldwell (1969), in a report on rural-urban migration in Ghana, concentrated on single-phase migration from rural hamlets to the country's urban centers. Caldwell's analysis included information gathered from a survey of rural persons intending to migrate as well as from a similar sample of the more commonly studied de facto urban migrants. In Peru, Mangin (1967) reported that three-quarters of the population of a Lima migrant neighborhood selected for study had followed the pattern of moving directly from the place of origin to the coastal primate city.

The occurrence of urban-rural, single-phase migration has been cited much less frequently than its

rural-urban counterpart. One such case, however, has been described by Morton D. Winsberg (1968; 1969). As the result of increasing anti-Semitic activities in eastern Europe, Jewish organizations and philanthropists arranged for the purchase of farmland in a sparsely-settled area of Argentina. The site would serve as a refuge for European Jews fleeing religious and political persecution. Several agricultural colonies were established including the one studied by Winsberg, Entre Ríos. The majority of the European Jews who arrived in Entre Ríos came directly from urban ghetto situations. Because the colonies existed in a marginal environment, out-migration to the Argentine cities was common. According to Winsberg,

most colonists never developed a strong attachment to rural life, and many retained urban skills acquired in Europe. In addition, most had more affluent relatives or friends in the cities who were willing to help them establish themselves if they chose to move there. (Winsberg 1968:427)

It is interesting that the urbanite often seems to find adjustment to the rural milieu extremely incompatible with a previous lifestyle, while the rural-urban migrant is seeking to alter old patterns to conform to the urban way of life. It might be hypothesized, then, that "reverse" adaptation generally is more difficult and less desirable for the urban dweller than it is for the rural inhabitant. This would also seem to be in keeping with the

Whiteford-Adams proposition that "migrants seek situations that permit participation in higher degrees of organization as circumstances permit" (Whiteford and Adams 1973:1).

2. Temporary or Seasonal Migration is defined as movement by the migratory unit from the place of origin to the destination with the intent that residence will be transitory.

Young individuals commonly migrate with the idea that relocation is only a trial period. Because these persons often have little to risk, migration is viewed more as an adventure than as a definitive commitment. If success in the form of employment and shelter is achieved, the temporary migration strategy may evolve into one which includes permanent residence as a possible alternative. Other types of temporary migration may occur as the result of duty in the armed services, visiting, or satisfying educational needs.

If temporary migration is tied to a specific time sequence or cycle, it is then said to be seasonal. The greatest incidence of seasonal migration occurs in conjunction with crop harvests which require large amounts of short-term labor. In this case, the migrants' movements are ruled by the demands of an external time schedule. In discussing migration patterns in Guatemala, Bryan Roberts states

Though Indians are likely to migrate to supplement their subsistence agriculture, their migration is likely to be short-term and circulatory, involving return to their home village. This is, in fact, one outstanding trait of Guatemala's internal migrations. Indian migrations are usually for a period of three to four months when workers leave for the coffee or other cash-crop harvests on the coast and return to cultivate their land for the rest of the year. (Roberts 1973:61)

Seasonal migration also may depend upon internal schedules, whereby the migrant determines the proper time to leave the place of origin. For example, fallow seasons or slack periods on a family farm may become satisfactory interims to migrate to another rural area or even to an urban center in search of temporary wage labor. In some areas, external and internal demands on the migrants' time do not conflict, so that the fallow period in the place of origin coincides with the harvest season at the place of destination. Much of the seasonal migration occurring in eastern Bolivia operates in this manner. The commercial crops of sugarcane and cotton are harvested in the lowlands during the dry season when fields lay fallow in the highlands.

3. Step Migration is defined as the progressive movement by the migratory unit toward a specified settlement situation.

Step migration frequently is associated with rural-urban movement, not necessarily out of any innate

compatibility of the two, but simply because the rural-urban flow presently is predominant in most areas. In rural-urban step migration the migrant often seeks intermediate "steps" along the rural-urban continuum which afford a gradual adjustment to the urban environment. From the rural homestead, the migratory unit may progress to a nearby town or provincial capital. Finally, a move to a large metropolitan area climaxes the process. Rural-urban step migration has been described by researchers such as Whiteford (1972), Ghersi and Dobyns (1963), Orellana (1973) and Pool (1968).

Step migration nevertheless may also involve movement from the urban end of the continuum to the rural, or from a less rural place to one which is perceived as even more remote. Perhaps the best-known examples of rural-rural step migration involve the opening of frontier lands and/or colonies. Road accessibility to new agricultural areas often encourages step-migration or the progressive movement by migrants into wilderness areas through the acquisition of land in stages along the route. Individual risk-taking is reduced in that migrants are gradually introduced to a new social and natural environment and at the same time do not experience a sudden separation from supportive networks. Settlement of certain frontier areas of Bolivia (Cusack 1967; Henkel 1971), Venezuela and Colombia

(Crist and Nissley 1973), and Brazil (Margolis 1973) was accomplished in this manner.

Step migration may in addition involve economic progression in terms of monetary gain and greater prestige. Many North American families become locked into a two-year moving cycle in which the male spouse, often engaged in corporate enterprise, is transferred from one locality to another in order to accrue promotions and concomitant salary increases. A member of the military also may be involved in step migration. In this instance the steps from one duty station to another may bring advancement in rank along with rising income increments. In many societies today, upward mobility may imply spatial mobility as well.

4. Sequential Migration occurs when the migratory unit moves from one locality to another, but not in a geographic, economic, or status step progression.

Among the industrialized nations, horizontal mobility of the working classes is contributing to the formation of a migrant group which Anthony Richmond terms the "transilient type."

That is to say, they are part of a highly mobile and skilled labor force ready to move from one urban industrial center to another, wherever their particular education and occupational skills are in demand, irrespective of political or cultural boundaries. (Richmond 1968:244)



The phenomenon of migrating from city to city or even from rural hamlet to rural hamlet has been encountered in nonindustrialized nations as well. In the Bolivian case, inter-urban migration is a common occurrence and may be attributed in great part to economic pressures and employment instability. Reported cases of interrural migration, however, are relatively rare. Stephen Brush, in his paper, "Peru's Invisible Migrants: A Case Study of Inter-Andean Migration" (Brush 1974), alludes to the existence of this process among the Andean rural villages, haciendas, and indigenous communities. Brush ascribes interrural migration in two Andean areas to regional economic differences. As will be discussed in later chapters of the present study, sequential movement from one rural situation to another is prevalent in lowland Bolivia and may be viewed as a direct consequence of the demands of shifting agriculture.

5. Chain Migration occurs when the migratory unit and/or other communication networks become direct or indirect instruments in influencing the migration of additional individuals.

Unless it is the result of some natural or social catastrophe which creates a population of sudden evacuees, migration normally builds gradually to a crescendo over a period of time. Although one may speak abstractly of population flows and waves, a major factor influencing

these rates and volumes of migration is the individual. Someone must make the initial move to start the momentum. If this hypothetical argonaut (more probably a number of them) attains relative success in the new surroundings, a beachhead has been established and the way is cleared for additional migration.

Chain migration may occur as the result of first-hand contact with the migrants themselves, either through return trips by the latter to the place of origin or through visits by family and friends to the migrants' place of destination. Chain migration may also occur as the consequence of a secondary flow of information whereby news of the migrants' exploits and attainments reaches the point of origin by means of informal communication networks. More formal networks may play an important role in chain migration, such as the effect of radio, newspapers, and television in precipitating population movement. The news media are often inadvertent seducers of rural folk who, by their almost daily exposure to commercial propaganda extolling the virtues of innumerable goods and services available in the city, are made aware of the popularized benefits of urban life. In the case of Peru, Doughty reports

There are many small town [radio] stations but most of these can scarcely be heard a few blocks from their transmitters. Instead, several very powerful stations in Lima serve the country

at large. The national government runs its own strong station, and recently, has moved to acquire considerable control over all other stations. It is nevertheless, difficult to estimate just what the impact of radio is, especially in rural areas, but we assume it is significant in whetting the appetites of people for things they do not have. In this sense, the radio is an urban tool, an instrument in provoking the potential migrant. (Doughty 1972:38)

6. Multiple Resource Migration occurs when the migrant unit establishes colonies, or archipelagos, in two or more areas for the purpose of simultaneously exploiting different environmental or economic niches.

To the researcher's knowledge, this final category of migration pattern has not appeared previously in the literature. John Murra (1972) discusses a precedent to multiple resource migration in his study of vertical archipelagos in the Andes. He does not, however, relate his findings to migration patterns per se, but to the concept of zonal ecological adaptive strategies. Since the phenomenon of multiple resource migration will be explained in a later chapter, a brief account of this pattern will suffice for the present. In Santa Cruz, many rural migrants are engaging in multiple moves but are not abandoning the previous settlement sites. Instead, properties are acquired and maintained by the migrant unit for the purpose of exploiting simultaneously several economic niches. This particular pattern offers the migrant greater diversity, and therefore, security of capital resources.

### The Search for Nomothetic Principles of Migration

If one were to cite the most pervasive characteristic of migration studies, it would have to be that they are primarily descriptive in nature. Although social scientists may discuss at length specific patterns and processes of population movement, very few have attempted to formulate a set of general principles concerning the act of migration or to test those which have been generated.

Perhaps the first to endeavor to place migration process in a theoretical framework was E. G. Ravenstein in a paper presented to the Royal Statistical Society of Great Britain on March 17, 1885 (Ravenstein 1885). Based on data from the British census of 1881, the paper was entitled "Laws of Migration." A subsequent study under the same title was completed by Ravenstein in 1889 in which he included data from more than 20 nations (Ravenstein 1889). Ravenstein's Laws of Migration, taken from both the 1885 and 1889 treatises, are summarized below.

(1) Migration and distance:

- (a) The great body of our migrants only proceed a short distance; migrants enumerated in a certain center of absorption will . . . grow less (as distance from the center increases).

- (b) Migrants proceeding long distances generally go by preference to one of the great centers of commerce and industry.

(2) Migration by stages:

- (a) There takes place consequently a universal shifting or displacement of the population, which produces "currents of migration," setting in the direction of the great centers of commerce and industry which absorb the migrants.
- (b) The inhabitants of the country immediately surrounding a town of rapid growth flock into it; the gaps thus left in the rural population are filled up by migrants from more remote districts, until the attractive force of one of our rapidly growing cities makes its influence felt, step by step, to the most remote corner of the kingdom.
- (c) The process of dispersion is the inverse of that of absorption, and exhibits similar features.

(3) Stream and Counterstream:

Each main current of migration produces a compensating countercurrent.

(4) Urban-rural differences in propensity to migrate:

The natives of towns are less migratory than those of the rural parts of the country.

(5) Predominance of females among short-distance migrants:

Females appear to predominate among short-journey migrants.

## (6) Technology and Migration:

Does migration increase? I believe so! Wherever I was able to make a comparison I found that an increase in the means of locomotion and a development of manufactures and commerce have led to an increase of migration.

## (7) Dominance of the economic motive:

Bad or oppressive laws, heavy taxation, an unattractive climate, uncongenial social surroundings, and even compulsion (slave trade, transportation), all have produced and are still producing currents of migration, but none of these currents can compare in volume with that which arises from the desire inherent in most men to "better" themselves in material respects.  
(From Lee 1968:283)

In spite of the obvious errors, overstatements, and omissions in Ravenstein's "Laws," they remained until the mid-20th century the sole contribution to the search for nomothetic principles of migration. The late 19th and early 20th centuries witnessed the emergence of a group of social scientists who eschewed all attempts at general theory-building. These individuals represented a backlash to the prevailing concepts of "social Darwinism" which had permeated the scientific community as a result of the impact of evolutionary theory. In anthropology, the trend away from the formulation of "grand schemes" was led by Franz Boas who assiduously avoided theoretical generalizations regarding cultural phenomena. Boas became known instead for his prolific

collecting of field data, and together with many of his students, was labeled an "historical particularist."

Marvin Harris has stated

it is true that the strategy of historical particularism required an almost total suspension of the normal dialectic between fact and theory. The causal processes, the trends, the long-range parallels were buried by an avalanche of negative cases. (Harris 1968:251)

This aversion of theory-building extended to other disciplines as well, prompting Rupert B. Vance, president of the Population Association of America, to publish an article entitled "Is Theory for Demographers?" in which as late as 1953 he decries the detrimental effects of the pervasive fear of generating a body of theoretical premises.

During the 1930's and 40's, several significant migration studies were conducted in which some preliminary theoretical constructs were advanced, but these propositions were not universally valid because of a very circumscribed data base. Thus, just as is still prevalent today, these theories were restricted to a particular location, certain types of migration patterns, rates of flow, distance differentials, or motivational factors. A particularly good example of this approach is to be found in a paper by J. Oscar Alers and Richard Applebaum in which 100 "migration propositions" specifically related

to the Peruvian case are enumerated and discussed. Although these propositions are a definite contribution to the theory of migration process as it pertains to Peru, no attempt has been made to organize them into a general, and therefore universally applicable, set of premises. For example, the first Alers and Applebaum proposition states

Migrants in Peru tend to move toward zones with characteristics generally similar to those which they abandon; those from semi-urban and urban zones to urban zones; those from rural zones to rural or semi-urban; and those from hacienda to hacienda. (Alers and Applebaum 1968:2)

The above proposition might be restated as a more general hypothesis such as, When circumstances permit, migrants tend to choose points of destination which bear a structural resemblance to the point of origin. Stated in this manner, the hypothesis may then be tested in other migration arenas. Many of the remaining 99 are of equally general importance to merit testing in other situations.

Perhaps the most recent contribution to nomothetic principles of migration has been that of Everett Lee whose bi-modal analysis of motivational factors was presented in the opening pages of this chapter. Building on this preliminary model, Lee has postulated several hypotheses dealing with the overall process of migration. Everett Lee explains that



This conceptualization of migration as involving a set of factors at origin and destination, a set of intervening obstacles, and a series of personal factors is a simple one which may perhaps be accepted as self-evident. It is now argued that, simple though it is, it provides a framework for much of what we know about migration and indicates a number of fields for investigation. It is used below to formulate a series of hypotheses about the volume of migration under varying conditions, the development of stream and counterstream, and the characteristics of migrants.

#### Volume of Migration

- (1) The volume of migration within a given territory varies with the degree of diversity of areas included in that territory.
- (2) The volume of migration varies with the diversity of people.
- (3) The volume of migration is related to the difficulty of surmounting the intervening obstacles.
- (4) The volume of migration varies with fluctuations in the economy.
- (5) Unless severe checks are imposed, both volume and rate of migration tend to increase with time.
- (6) The volume and rate of migration vary with the state of progress in a country or area.

#### Stream and Counterstream

- (1) Migration tends to take place largely within well defined streams.
- (2) For every major stream, a counterstream develops.

- (3) The efficiency of the stream (ratio of stream to counterstream or the net redistribution of population effected by the opposite flows) is high if the major factors in the development of a migration stream were minus factors at origin.
- (4) The efficiency of stream and counterstream tends to be low if origin and destination are similar.
- (5) The efficiency of migration streams will be high if the intervening obstacles are great.
- (6) The efficiency of a migration stream varies with economic conditions, being high in prosperous times and low in times of depression.

#### Characteristics of Migrants

- (1) Migration is selective.
- (2) Migrants responding primarily to plus factors at destination tend to be positively selected.
- (3) Migrants responding primarily to minus factors at origin tend to be negatively selected; or, where the minus factors are overwhelming to entire population groups, they may not be selected at all.
- (4) Taking all migrants together, selection tends to be bi-modal.
- (5) The degree of positive selection increases with the difficulty of the intervening obstacles.
- (6) The heightened propensity to migrate at certain stages of the life-cycle is important in the selection of migrants.
- (7) The characteristics of migrants tend to be intermediate between the characteristics of the population at origin and the population at destination. (Lee 1968:288-296)

Everett Lee's theoretical framework offers an analytical point of departure for the present study of current trends in highland-lowland Bolivian patterns and processes of migration. Although the Lee model is by no means totally inclusive in scope, it appears to be the most recent comprehensive formulation of general principles of migration. The Lee schemes of bi-model polarities and processural factors in migration therefore offer at least a minimum apparatus for the analytical organization of the Santa Cruz data. In conjunction with the testing of Lee's hypotheses, however, the information gathered in the lowland region will be discussed in relation to relevant propositions from the Peruvian material of Alers and Applebaum. An additional point of articulation for the lowland Bolivian data will be that of specific migration patterns or the typology outlined in the previous section. Finally, the researcher will present a model of Santa Cruz migrational flow patterns on a regional scale, the importance of which will be discussed next.

#### The Regional Approach to Migration in the Department of Santa Cruz

The great majority of literature dealing with migration has tended to concentrate on a single aspect in population flow from one point on the rural-urban continuum to another, on particular migrant characteristics,

or on migration trends as they affect a certain urban or rural locality. Moreover, there is a division between rural-oriented studies and those of an urban nature which have been maintained consistently in the presentation of material pertaining to migration. An entire body of literature exists which deals specifically with problems of migration and urbanization. Another such collection must be consulted in order to enter the realm of interrural population movement. Many investigators have combined either their urban or rural preference for investigation with the selection of a single study site such as Lima (Mangin 1970), Rio de Janeiro (Bonilla 1961), the Chapare colonization project of Bolivia (Henkel 1971), or the Jewish agricultural settlements at Entre Ríos, Argentina (Winsberg 1968; 1969).

Although each of these forays into the field of migration has contributed substantially to a general understanding of population flow, they may be presenting a limited view of the migratory processes developing within a wider context. Even more importantly, they may leave an erroneous impression that migration to a designated locality or from one settlement situation to another (i. e., rural-urban) is the only significant incidence of migration occurring in a given territory or nation-state. This problem of distortion is greatly magnified in areas where a classic primate city is attracting

substantial numbers of rural-urban migrants. In Peru, Stephen Brush set out to attack the voluminous research preoccupied with rural-urban migration to Lima by investigating the phenomenon of inter-Andean rural migration.

The extent of this migration . . . belies two former images: (1) that the relationships between the various social units of the Andean region are generally confined to economic (trade) and institutional (political-administrative) levels; and (2) that the only significant migration which concerned the Andean area was emigration to the coast. (Brush 1974:1) (emphasis supplied)

Brush's study opens for consideration another aspect of migration within the Peruvian nation, but it remains as one more isolated instance of population movement which cannot contribute to an overall conceptualization of migratory flow patterns. The questions remain as to what processes, patterns, and strategies of migration are at work within both the rural and urban sectors of a territory which has become an arena for internal migration, and how do these elements function as an integrated system?

The Department of Santa Cruz in lowland Bolivia offers an ideal opportunity to pursue answers to these important questions. It is the recipient of increasing numbers of highland migrants and, to a lesser degree, of foreign immigrants. Most significantly, Santa Cruz offers both urban and rural settings as points of destination where the migrant may be studied.

The Department of Santa Cruz is large in area, but the majority of the population is centered in what is known as the northern Santa Cruz region, an inverted triangle of land occupying an alluvial plain.

Five study sites in this area were chosen for the research project. On the extreme urban end of the continuum is the primate city of Santa Cruz, the departmental capital. On the opposing end are the agricultural colonies represented by the settlement areas of the Yapacaní and San Julián. Three intermediate sites were also investigated because of their importance to migration flows within the department and because of their differing social and economic compositions which generated distinctive adaptive strategies. These three are Montero, a secondary service center, Warnes, a town tied economically and socially to commercial agriculture, and San Carlos, a village based on semisubsistence horticulture.

Each of these sites was studied separately and provided a link in the chain of information out of which eventually emerged a well-defined model of population movement into, out of, as well as within the department. The order in which each locality was investigated followed a spatial progression outward from the city of Santa Cruz. Since there was only one road north into the area of highest migrant concentration, this route to a large extent determined the order in which the sites were studied.

Except in two instances, the relative spatial disposition of each locality coincided with appropriate points along an urban-rural continuum. An ordering by this latter criterion would be Santa Cruz, Montero, Warnes, San Carlos, Yapacaní/San Julián. By following the road, the actual sequence emerged as Santa Cruz, Warnes, Montero, San Carlos, Yapacaní/San Julián.

Because many of the data obtained in each site are directly related to the particular sequencing of the research target areas, the order in which the study was conducted has been maintained as the basis for organization of the dissertation.

The following segment of the research report, Chapter Two, is an introduction to the settlement and economic development of the Department of Santa Cruz and its peculiar place in Bolivian history. Chapters Three through Seven each deal with one population center. In these chapters, specific data regarding local migrant settlement patterns, migration processes, strategies and motivations, and characteristics of migrants will be discussed. In the closing statement, Chapter Eight, the information obtained from all five study areas will be synthesized and analyzed, and the resulting data will be tested against the theoretical precepts and hypotheses described in the body of the present chapter. Finally, a descriptive model of the structure, process, and

integrative nature of current migration trends in the Department of Santa Cruz will be developed and discussed in terms of the general patterns and principles of migration presented in this chapter.



## CHAPTER TWO

### THE DEPARTMENT OF SANTA CRUZ

The migration of highland Bolivians into the Santa Cruz region is by no means a recent phenomenon. Nevertheless, it only has been during the last twenty years or so that population movement into the lowlands has reached large-scale proportions. Many factors have contributed to this migration trend and to its impact on lowland society. A significant influence on patterns and processes of migration in the department has been the curious history and geography of the region.

In area, though not in population, the Department of Santa Cruz is the largest of Bolivia's nine political divisions. The Cruceñan inhabitants not only are few in number, but have existed in a condition of almost total isolation. The first and only all-weather road linking the populous highland centers of Bolivia and the rest of the world to this lowland province was not completed until 1954. This is the 500-kilometer Santa Cruz-Cochabamba highway which has far from subdued the treacherous mountains it must cross. The route to the lowlands begins in the city of Cochabamba which rests



Figure 1. Map of Bolivia

in a teacup valley at an elevation of 2,000 meters. From there it winds up through the mountains, clings perilously to the cliff walls overhanging a rocky river bed, and finally reaches the 3,000-meter-high cloud forest known popularly as "Siberia." Here the asphalt gives way to gravel, the roadbed having deteriorated from the constant fog and drizzle. Vehicles slow to a crawl as they feel their way along the narrow track lined with towering tree ferns and a tangle of tropical vegetation. It is an eerie, ethereal land, and travelers are glad at last to leave the swirls of mist to start the descent to the lowlands.

The edge of the highway is dotted with the small, white wooden crosses of those travelers who failed to negotiate a curve, or lost their brakes, or made the trip while too tired or drunk. Every so often a ragged scar appears in the rocky wall beside the road where a recent slide came crashing down to cut off traffic until a bulldozer could be brought in to clear the way. The descent is abrupt, the road a series of hairpin curves and switchbacks. Driving it is a relentless chore, but for those who just ride, the scenery is spectacular. Small farms appear wherever there is any hope of clearing away enough rock to free the scant topsoil for cultivation. Scattered along the river are grist mills always accompanied by a few women washing clothes in nearby pools. Throughout it all there are the mountains, the ever-present

mountains, the eastern-most slopes of the Andes. Until they almost reach the lowland plain they are great slabs of rough-hewn rock, new mountains in terms of geological time which have yet to be torn down by eons of erosion.

The mountains end suddenly at about 400 meters' elevation, and the road spills out onto the plains. The final 50 kilometers are a long, smooth ribbon crossing farmlands and cattle ranches until the highway reaches its destination, the lowland capital, the city of Santa Cruz de la Sierra. Now the distinctive Cruceñan countryside is evident. The houses no longer are built of adobe blocks roofed with straw but are mud and wattle with a thatch of palm. Everything is green and lush, in sharp contrast to the arid and barren altiplano or even the Cochabamba Valley which is patchworked green only where water is available.

Cleared fields and pasture lands near the city of Santa Cruz are interrupted by the many varieties of palm which in earlier times were the mainstay of the lowland inhabitants. The tall, stately chonta not only provides an excellent wood for building and decoration (the airport in La Paz is adorned with this lowland hardwood), but also produces a nutritious fruit which when boiled has a flavor and consistency not unlike potatoes. The massive motacú, perhaps the most sacred of lowland palms, is used to roof the peasant houses, or pauhuichis;

its tender center shoot, the cogollo, is woven into baskets, hats, and sleeping mats. The heart of the motacú is extracted with an axe and boiled to make palm-heart salad, a feastday food. On Palm Sunday it is the motacú frond which is brought to church by villagers and city-dwellers alike to be blessed by the parish priest.

Another palm is the thorny totaí which is pictured on the coat of arms of the Department of Santa Cruz. It, too, has an edible and tasty fruit; but for the children of the countryside the totaí has additional importance. The totaíces, as the fruit is called, are perfectly spherical in shape and are about the size of large marbles. Young boys collect pockets full to have a ready supply of ammunition for their slingshots.

The Department of Santa Cruz is marked by a diverse landscape. To the south the great desert of the Gran Chaco dominates the region. Population is sparse here and tends to be clustered along the recently completed 540-kilometer railroad linking the city of Santa Cruz with Argentina. The northern reaches of the department begin to merge into the grassy flood plain of the Beni and are broken only by large stands of tropical forest. To the east lies the Brazilian Shield, a hilly country of plains and forest, also sparsely populated, traversed by the Santa Cruz-Brazil railroad completed earlier in 1955. It is the wide alluvial fan, captured

in the basin formed by the Andean block to the west and the Brazilian Shield to the east, which has offered the greatest opportunity for successful settlement. The city of Santa Cruz was located, or rather relocated, in this area and it is where 70 per cent of the department's 580,000 inhabitants reside (Reye 1974). The terrain varies from flat plains to gently rolling subtropical forest to dense jungle. It is a beautiful land characterized by clear blue skies and great mounds of white clouds. Wide, meandering rivers criss-cross the region, moving slowly northward, converging into larger and more powerful streams until they reach the Amazon and are carried out to sea. At dusk large flocks of parrots shriek noisily across the sky in search of a place of safety to pass the night. The great packs of wild pigs, the agouti, the peccary, the tapir, and the jaguar are all but gone now, hunted out of existence for their meat and hides. Those animals which escaped retreated farther into the wilderness but they too are being pursued to extinction by the persistent hunter.

As one moves north from the city of Santa Cruz the landscape changes from sandy, grassy pampas to large expanses of cotton and sugarcane. Farther north the terrain becomes more heavily forested, and rice and banana fields begin to dominate the countryside. There is a paved road from the city north, extending 60 kilometers

to the smaller city of Montero where it splits, one branch heading west to the Yapacaní River and the other east to the Río Grande. Within this triangle are located most of the department's inhabitants, its major commercial centers, and the most productive agricultural lands.

The climate is generally warm and humid with a well-defined dry season beginning about May and terminating in September. The heaviest rains fall during the months of December, January, and February. Thus crops are usually planted in October and November with the hope that the rainy season will arrive on schedule and be adequate to assure a good harvest. Only the cold winter winds interrupt the warm days and mild nights. Several times a year, normally during the months of June, July, and August, the cold Antarctic surazos blow unhampered through the Argentine pampas into the Santa Cruz plain where they are stalled by the Andes and dissipated. Once the prevailing winds shift from north to south the temperature can drop 20 degrees in a matter of hours. In 1975, temperatures of -4 degrees centigrade were recorded on three consecutive days during the midwinter month of July. The Cruceños are ill-prepared for these abrupt climatic shifts in terms of both clothing and housing. They must simply weather the surazo as best they can, sitting huddled in blankets by the cook fire or with a makeshift heater of live coals in an old lard can. The cold winds

take their yearly toll among the very young, the very old, and the infirm.

The inhabitants of the Santa Cruz region are better known as Cambas, a term believed to have originated from the Guaraní word meaning "friend," but now Camba has several meanings. It was first applied to the peasant class and was synonymous with the peon who was tied to a large agricultural establishment, or finca, by debt. As time went by, Camba became an all-inclusive term for lowland society, both peasant and aristocrat. It additionally became a means by which the lowlander could demonstrate his cultural as well as geographical distance from highlanders whom he disparagingly referred to as Kollas (from the Quechua word Kollasuyo, the Bolivian sector of the Inca Empire). All of these uses continue the present day although the first, that of a class distinction among lowlanders, has declined in popularity in recent years.

The Camba for the most part is a mestizo, and even those families professing "pure Castillian heritage" would be hard-pressed to prove this claim. It is a well-known fact that not many European women accompanied the Spanish conquest so that mestizoization proceeded at a rapid pace. In the case of Santa Cruz, the taking of wives and concubines from among the native populations was even more pronounced due to its extreme isolation and



rusticity. If a Spanish woman was hesitant about crossing the Atlantic to make her home in Buenos Aires or even Lima, she certainly was not going to consider a place like Santa Cruz. It is not unreasonable to assume, then, that few, if any, Europeans were able to maintain their ethnic purity for more than a generation or two. At the same time, many Cambas exhibit phenotypic characteristics which would indicate some African influence, giving credence to the numerous tales that Santa Cruz became a refuge for black slaves escaping Brazilian plantations. Thus the Camba tends to be a potpourri of highland Indian (Quechua and Aymara), lowland Indian (Guaraní, Guayano, Chiquitano and many more), European primarily from southern Spain, and perhaps African.

The Cambas have been termed an emergent society (Heath 1959) because of their isolation due to geographic barriers and tremendous distances which until quite recently effectively inhibited contact with the outside world. It is only an outsiders, however, who would use this phrase; Camba society has existed since the Iberian conquest and traces its origins back to the first Spanish conquistadors who rode east from the Andes and west from the Argentine. From this point, nevertheless, Cruceñan history becomes a muddle of oral tradition and scant documentation.

There are no public libraries or archival deposits in Santa Cruz. The few documents pertaining to the area during colonial times are now dispersed throughout the world or held by private individuals in the area. Cruceñan historians attribute the loss of most records to the ravages of time and climate and to the destructive uses to which they were put. S. Montero Hoyos has written

During the times when troops were sent [to Santa Cruz] from the interior of Bolivia, they were quartered in the Colegio Nacional, which gave these generally illiterate soldiers access to the using of the archives as toilet paper; for this reason Santa Cruz does not preserve anything of historic tradition, because it was in that church (El Sagrario) and in the Colegio where the archives were kept. (Quoted in Jisunú 1974:13)

Another historian explains how the cannon from the War of Independence, which was kept in the Prefectura and fired every 24th of September to commemorate the Cruceñan bid for freedom from Spain, was wadded with colonial documents (also related in Jisunú 1974:13). Because of inadequate sources of documentation, the piecing together of Cruceñan history since the conquest has occasioned no small amount of controversy among national historians. The most heated debate revolves about the amount of influence the highlands have had in the birth and development of lowland society.

The well-known Bolivian historian, Enrique Finot, who is himself a lowlander, has been accused of overemphasizing the importance of the Peruvian geopolitical sphere during the period of Spanish colonization in the lowlands. In his Historia de la Conquista del Oriente Boliviano, Finot remarks

A curious account taken from the Archivos de Indias and which constitutes the sole document known which refers to the inhabitants of the Grigotá [Santa Cruz] plains during the period of the conquest or immediately prior to it, sheds a great deal of light on the fact that, upon arrival of the first Spaniards, the territory was found to be under the domination of the Incas of Peru. This is one more reason to recognize the totally Alto-peruvian origins of the city of Santa Cruz de la Sierra. (Finot 1939:67)

Recent studies (Sanabria 1973) indicate that the Incas never were successful in their efforts to subjugate the lowland aborigines and were therefore required to build a series of fortresses to keep the "barbaric hordes" from invading their highland dominions. But whatever the particular historical interpretation may be, one salient point emerges from this dispute. Lowland Bolivians, and especially the Camba, will disavow whenever possible any substantial Andean influence in the formation of their culture and tradition. The separatist philosophy of the Camba began and was cultivated during colonial times and continues to the present day. In any event,

it cannot be denied that the first to arrive in the area were Spaniards from the Argentine, not those from the Peruvian highlands, and from that moment on, what is now the Department of Santa Cruz was caught in a cross-fire of conflicting interests and petty quarrels. The most current treatment of colonial Santa Cruz, that written by Hernando Sanabria Fernández (1973), is recognized by lowlanders and highlanders alike as perhaps the best and most accurate documentation presently available. In the following brief summation of lowland conquest and settlement, then, it is the Sanabrian interpretation which is presented.

In 1549, Captain Domingo Martínez de Irala set out from Asunción, Paraguay, in quest of the legendary "Mountain of Silver" reputed to lie in the mountains to the west. He halted his march at the Guapay River (now the Río Grande) where he was informed by the aborigine residents that other Spaniards had already claimed the highland dominions formerly ruled by the Incas. Irala was bitterly disappointed to find that his dreams of conquest and riches would never be realized, but he decided to try to make the best of the situation. Rather than return empty-handed to Asunción, Irala sent an envoy to the Audiencia Real in Lima to lay claim to the territories he had discovered east of the Peruvian viceroyalty.

The envoy was Captain Nuflo de Chávez, well known in the La Plata region for his audacity in battle and his leadership qualities. After weeks of travel through the Andes, Chávez arrived in Lima only to be told curtly by the authorities that Irala and his followers were to cease their explorations westward or be held in royal disobedience. With this news Irala had no choice but to retreat to Asunción where he began planning his return to the area to establish a permanent colony and thereby secure his claim. But once more his aspirations of empire were thwarted, now permanently, for Domingo Martínez de Irala died suddenly on October 3, 1556, never again to cross the plains of Grigotá. Nuflo de Chávez had no intention, however, of permitting the death of Irala to crush the La Plata effort to colonize the lowland plains. By February, 1558, he had gathered together an army of 150 Spaniards and more than 2,000 Guaraní Indians to begin the march to the Río Guapay. Bloody battles with hostile Indians along the route, treachery, and mutiny reduced the Chávez ranks to no more than 50 Spaniards and only a few hundred Guaraní. The ragged group finally reached the Río Guapay on August 1, 1559, where the first permanent settlement was established. Nuflo christened the site Nueva Asunción in honor of the distant post in Paraguay where his journey had begun.

Only days after the founding of Nueva Asunción, another contingent of Spaniards rode into the small camp on the banks of the river. The band was led by Captain Andrés Manso, who had left Peru with permission from the Audiencia to colonize the lands now occupied by Chávez. Nuflo dared not risk the wrath of the powerful viceroyalty in Lima, so, rather than use force to keep what he felt was rightfully his, he tried guile. Manso was convinced to remain in the lowlands to govern both groups of colonizers in Nueva Asunción while Chávez, along with Manso's emissary, took the land dispute to Lima to be decided by higher authority. Acting on his own behalf, Nuflo de Chávez was in a much stronger bargaining position than his adversary who was only a spokesman for the absent Manso. Thus, on February 15, 1560, Viceroy Andrés Hurtado de Mendoza Marqués de Cañete created the province of Moxos, to be granted to his son, García Hurtado de Mendoza. In the absence of the latter, Nuflo de Chávez was appointed Lieutenant General of the entire region. Manso was summoned to Lima but defied his recall, choosing instead to settle near Nueva Asunción where he was killed by a group of hostile Chiriguano Indians.

On his return to the lowlands, Nuflo was given supplies, Spanish soldiers, arms, and substantial quantities of highland Indians to assist in the colonization of the Moxos territory. Throughout the march to the east,

the local groups of aborigines encountered along the way were brought peacefully or by arms under the yoke of Spanish rule. One such group were the Chiquitanos, who at the time of conquest were in control of the wide central plain. Nuflo befriended the Chiquitanos and they in turn helped him locate the site which was to be the headquarters of the Moxos colonies. The area chosen was at the base of the Brazilian Shield beside a clear stream known as the Sutos. During a formal ceremony on February 26, 1561, the settlement was inaugurated. Nuflo named the newly founded town Santa Cruz de la Sierra after the village in Extremadura where he had been born 44 years earlier. Having firmly established his claim in the lowlands, Chávez rode east to Asunción where he gathered his wife, children, and numerous settlers, both Indian and European, to return to Santa Cruz. With the impetus of additional colonists, the town began to grow and prosper. In 1568, however, the fierce Itatines invaded from the north and Nuflo de Chávez was killed in the skirmish. The populace voted Diego de Mendoza to succeed Chávez. Mendoza began his stewardship by putting down the Itatín revolt and re-establishing peace in the region.

But once again adversity in the form of highland interference was to plague the Santa Cruz colony. Upon the rise to power of Francisco de Toledo as Viceroy of

Peru, Diego de Mendoza was deposed as governor of Moxos. The position was to be occupied by one of Toledo's men, Juan Pérez de Zurita. Shortly after his arrival in Santa Cruz, Zurita was routed from the town by Mendoza's followers and was unceremoniously sent packing back to Toledo. Incensed by the rebellious Cruceños, Toledo himself led an expedition into the lowlands to punish the offending settlement. The viceroy's troops were no sooner onto the lowland plain when they were attacked by the Chiriguano and forced into a hasty retreat in which Toledo barely escaped alive. He prudently decided at that point to let Santa Cruz manage its own affairs. During the next two years Santa Cruz was torn in bitter civil strife between the supporters of Mendoza and those faithful to the viceroyalty in Lima. Finally Toledo sent word that amnesty for all had been proclaimed, and an invitation to Mendoza to visit the highlands was extended. Upon his arrival in Potosí, Mendoza was taken prisoner on order from the viceroy and a few days later beheaded.

In the course of the next several years, the Audiencia of Charcas, under whose jurisdiction Santa Cruz fell, tried to convince the Viceroyalty of Peru to establish another lowland city closer to the highlands. The inhabitants of Santa Cruz would then be moved to the new location and the old settlement would simply be abandoned.



In October of 1580, Lorenzo Suárez de Figueroa was charged with the task of founding this new lowland capital. Fierce battles with the Guaraní led to an abortive attempt to build a fort on the plains between the Piray and Guapay Rivers. A second settlement, San Lorenzo el Real, was finally secured on the west bank of the Guapay, and here a governing body for the region was established. The inhabitants of Santa Cruz protested loudly at having their ruling powers over the region usurped and made good their protest by refusing to move into San Lorenzo. The new capital was soon met with natural disaster when the Guapay River flooded, carrying away most of the settlement. San Lorenzo was then moved back to the site of the old fort, the Guaranís having been dispersed.

The inhabitants of Santa Cruz continued their former existence, but because of their rebellious attitude remained a source of aggravation for the Audiencia of Charcas. In 1604 an envoy sent by the Charcas authorities arrived in Santa Cruz with the order that the city was to be moved. The residents acceded to the decree, but they refused to cohabit with the San Lorenzo community. Instead, the Cruceños located five leagues away where they remained for 17 years. At the end of this period, the governor of San Lorenzo, Nuño de la Cueva, working with the Jesuits, began to seek means to unite the two settlements. It was finally

agreed that Santa Cruz would move to San Lorenzo, but would not give up its autonomy or its sovereign rights to govern its citizens. Gradually the Cruceños began to take over the city, and in a matter of just a few years even the name San Lorenzo was cast aside in favor of Santa Cruz de la Sierra. Charcas may have succeeded in moving the city closer to the highlands, but it was incapable of reshaping the independent, intractable inhabitants who constituted its populace.

The postcolonial history of Santa Cruz to the present is long and complex, but throughout its course two themes reoccur: isolation and local autonomy. When the new Viceroyalty of La Plata was created in 1778, Santa Cruz as part of Upper Peru passed from control of the Audiencia of Charcas to that of Buenos Aires. The shift in the domains of government had little effect on the remote lowland province. It was just as difficult to maintain adequate communication with Santa Cruz from Buenos Aires as it had been from the highlands. Thus the region continued to conduct its affairs as a semiautonomous state.

The first moves toward emancipation from Spain went virtually unnoticed by the Cambas. It was not until two patriots, Eustaquio Moldes and Juan Manuel Lemoine, rode down from Cochabamba with word of the insurrection, that Santa Cruz became involved in the War for Independence

(Urquidi 1944:117). There was little doubt that the city would support the rebel forces rather than side with the royalist cause. Thus on September 24, 1810, Santa Cruz formed a junta revolucionaria and seceded from Upper Peru. The Santa Cruz region was never the scene of any major battles during the 15-year war, but the Cambas contributed to the harassment of royalist forces by the effective guerrilla warfare they waged. In 1814, led by the Argentine Colonel Ignacio Warnes, the Cruceñan guerrillas ambushed the royalist army led by General Blanco and claimed a victory over 900 enemy troops, an event still celebrated every 25th of May.

The Venezuelan General Antonio José de Sucre, emissary of Simón Bolívar, arrived in La Paz on February 9, 1825, to promulgate the Independence Decree for the provinces of Upper Peru. The Santa Cruz representative was still in Buenos Aires awaiting the convocation of the Assembly of the United Provinces of Río de la Plata. It must have come as some surprise for him to learn that Santa Cruz had been annexed to the recently formed highland nation of Bolivia rather than to one of the La Plata republics as had been anticipated (Finot 1954: 184-195). The fact remains that Santa Cruz was not fully represented when the Assembly of the Provinces of Upper Peru gathered, but the business of nation-building was carried on in spite of this oversight. By the time

Antonio Vincente Seoane had been dispatched from Santa Cruz and arrived in the highlands, the formal Independence Decree had been prepared and signed by the other delegates. Seoane entered the city of Chuquisaca on August 6, 1825, and, on that same day the final signature was affixed to the document and the independent nation state of Bolivia officially came into being.

Once the war ended, Santa Cruz settled back into the indolence of isolation it had previously enjoyed. As presidents came and went in the highlands, the lowlands remained oblivious to the political turmoil seething beyond its boundaries. In the countryside the Camba campesino continued his insular existence much as he had since the first years of settlement. The French explorer Alcide d'Orbigny visited the Santa Cruz plains shortly after Independence and commented

. . . the campesino of Santa Cruz is the happiest of men. He does not know, nor does he care to know, anything of other regions. For him, the world is a radius of a few familiar places, hemmed in by the mountains which he sees as a vast curtain across the horizon. (Orbigny 1835-1837:536)

While highland Bolivia was characterized by an active mining industry, by an exploitative system of absentee landholdings, and by political intrigues, Santa Cruz continued its unhurried pastoral existence. But the latter third of the 19th century ushered in the

rubber boom which for the first time in its history brought wealth and prosperity to the city of Santa Cruz de la Sierra. Hordes of rubber tappers, the siringueros, flooded north into the Beni and Pando, attracted by the high wages offered by the rubber barons of Santa Cruz. The pound sterling became the standard currency in the lowlands and even today many Cruceños retain these coins among old family treasures. Those who remained behind had a ready market for all the rice, manioc, beef jerky and other staples that could be produced in surplus to feed the siringueros. Great privations were suffered by the tappers. Many went hungry, had chronic illnesses, and were brutalized by their employers. Others died from malaria, drowned in floods, or were killed by Indians. Fawcett (1924) reported that the laborers on the Madeira River had a working life of only five years. When men no longer could be recruited for the jungles, they were taken as slaves. Both the great surge in the lowland economy and the countless atrocities committed to insure its continuation came to an end in 1910 when southeast Asia flooded the market with great quantities of cheap rubber. Bolivia simply could not compete and was forced to abandon the rubber trade. The city of Santa Cruz once again fell into the somnolence of its past; fortunes were quickly depleted and prosperity drained away.

The beginning of the 20th century witnessed renewed interest by the highland government in the lowlands to the east. Several unsuccessful attempts were made at integrating Santa Cruz into the national sphere. In 1909 a telegraph line was strung between Cochabamba and Santa Cruz in an effort to increase communication with the isolated province. All major political offices in the lowlands were given to highlanders appointed by the La Paz government. These measures served only to heighten the rebellious chauvinistic attitudes of the Camba. Secessionist revolts occurred in 1920 and in 1924, both of which were quickly put down by federal forces, but the seed of fear had been planted.

Since the early 1920's, when the Standard Oil Company had secured concessions for exploration in the Gran Chaco desert, Bolivia and Paraguay had been disputing the undemarked boundary zone in this region. Moves on both sides to gain control of the potentially oil-rich land resulted in several border skirmishes, and in 1931 war broke out between the two contenders. The La Paz government feared that Santa Cruz would side with the Paraguayans, with whom they had much stronger cultural ties. Thus immediate means were taken to prevent the department from any renewed attempt to secede. All political posts were given to highlanders, military command was denied to Cruceños, and the Cambas were

forbidden to form their own regiments (Heath 1959:30-31). Rather than uniting lowlanders and highlanders in a common cause, the war served only to embed more deeply the old regional hatreds. One Chaco veteran recalled

It was an incredibly horrible time! War is always ugly, I guess, but this was like Hell. The worst part of it was that we had not one enemy but three--we had constantly to fight thirst and the Kollas, as well as the Paraguayans. There were many who went mad with thirst and killed themselves or were killed. And there were also many who were killed by the Bolivians--the Kollas had only to say that a Camba was a spy to have him shot. This way they amused themselves when the war was slow, and as many of our buddies were killed by Kollas as by the enemy on the other side. Of course, we were able to kill a few of them too, but it was dangerous. (quoted in Heath 1959:31)

The treaty of 1938 ended the war but brought defeat to Bolivia. The major portion of the disputed desert area was awarded to Paraguay, and Bolivia was left counting its dead. The Cambas were grateful to return to their farmlands, away from the savagery of war and their despised compatriots, the Kollas. The highlanders, no doubt, were just as eager to leave the lowland wastes and be reunited with their families. Once again the national government was thrown into a frenzy of political turmoil with a series of coups which kept the highland politicians preoccupied with their own

affairs. Santa Cruz was permitted to quietly lick the wounds of war and return to a semblance of normalcy.

In 1952 the MNR (Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionaria) led by Victor Paz Estenssoro gained control of the Bolivian government. The Cruceñan factions of the party centered primarily in the city of Santa Cruz, were appointed to major political posts and began to seek a wider following in the lowland countryside. Sweeping reforms instituted by the new government radically altered the old social order throughout the entire nation. Perhaps of greatest impact was the Agrarian Reform Law enacted in 1953 which effectively put an end to the established land tenure system.

The highland campesino traditionally had been tied in perpetual serfdom to an agricultural establishment, the hacienda. In return for the privilege of cultivating a small parcel of the poorest soil, he was required to give the landlord from four to six days' labor per week. Contrary to the views of many writers such as José Romero Loza who states that the Camba campesino "was never subjected either historically, economically, or socially to servile and free labor" (Romero 1974:296), the lowland version of the hacienda, the finca, was also operating in a similar manner. Because of differences in settlement patterns, no entire villages were simply transferred like chattel from the



hands of the Incas to those of the Spaniard and their descendants as occurred in the highlands. Nevertheless, the Camba landlord depended on large quantities of inexpensive labor to sustain his enterprise just as did his highland counterpart. Thus the Camba peon was tied to his landlord not by a long tradition of servitude, but by debt. Wages were always kept low enough to insure that no farm family could possibly live off their earnings. In order to meet his basic needs, the Camba peon was forced to buy supplies on credit from the finquero. The debt was generational, and just as in the highland case, insured a stable work force.

The lowland situation, however, presented one major difference. There never existed a true shortage of arable land as was prevalent in the mountains. Anyone with a spirit for adventure and the fortitude to withstand great hardship and solitude could escape into the wilderness and carve out a homestead. He may not have been able to market his produce, but he would be free from the demands of the finquero and relatively free from hunger. Many of the more courageous Cambas did just that, opening up new territories to the north and east. Others were content to remain on the finca which robbed them of dignity and self-determination but at the same time provided some security. On the finca the Camba peons had access to a few comforts such as kerosene for

their lamps, sugar, salt, tobacco, and the ever-important cane alcohol, all purchased on credit and assuring greater indebtedness and more years of toil. Many of the patrons took their paternalism quite seriously, providing medical attention for their laborers and schools for the children. Just as many were ruthless and cruel to those who worked their lands. The huasca (leather whip) was always at hand and very seldom spared. Runaway peons were hunted down with dogs and men on horseback and were severely punished if caught. One woman related the story of the patron who dealt with recalcitrant peons by giving them enemas prepared with hot peppers.

The days of the great landlords came to an abrupt end in Bolivia when the Agrarian Reform laws were enacted in 1953. In the mountains, the land previously held by wealthy upper class Bolivians, often in absenteeism, was confiscated by the government and redistributed to the impoverished peasant serfs. Landowners in such places as the Cochabamba Valley where the population is extremely dense were totally divested of their holdings. Because of the pressure in the highlands for arable land, previous patrons were left with a very small part of their original estates. In many instances, land was forcibly taken by groups of campesino unions, the sindicatos, which were unwilling to await the due process of law. Great tracts of land were

also expropriated in the less densely populated Santa Cruz region, but here properties were of an enormous size in comparison to those in the interior of the nation. The demand for land by the lowland campesinos could be met easily. Thus the patrons in Santa Cruz were also divested of large portions of their original holdings, but in most cases they retained adequate amounts to continue extensive farming. What broke the lowland finquero was not so much the loss of land but the loss of the labor necessary to work it, for hand-in-hand with the Agrarian Reform went a decree to abolish all forms of debt peonage and a cancellation of all outstanding accounts held against the finca workers. Even the promise of higher wages was insufficient enticement for the peons who could now secure their own farms nearby at only the cost of title registration. Those finqueros with foresight and capital began to mechanize their operations and were ultimately spared the financial ruin experienced by many of their contemporaries. Most, however, were forced by economic necessity to sell off their remaining land and move to the cities where they sought other forms of income. The property in turn was purchased by individual farmers and by agribusiness consortia which were cued to the coming economic expansion in the lowlands.

After more than five years under the revolutionary government, Bolivia began to evaluate the results of many of its programs for change. Efforts were made to assess the outcome of the Agrarian Reform on agricultural production throughout the nation. Some observers such as the United Nations' Economic Commission for Latin America (1958) reported a 15 per cent drop in production as a result of land reform and forecast grave economic problems for the future. Ronald J. Clark countered the ECLA report by pointing out that production had not necessarily fallen off but simply may have been rechanneled (Clark 1968). Due to the reform, he argued, the campesino was now able to keep more of his produce for personal consumption instead of handing it over to the hacienda. Hence less of the nation's agricultural products were reaching urban centers where they could be counted. Clark added that the revolution also destroyed the old marketing system, formerly in the hands of the landowners, and that it would take time for the campesino to establish a new marketing network.

Nevertheless, as Zondag has noted in his study of postrevolution Bolivian economy, the peasant was given land to work but very little monetary or technical assistance to permit him to rise much above a subsistence level. Then too, in such localities as Cochabamba, becoming a landholder meant very little in terms of economic

betterment. More than 8,000 families in the Cochabamba received less than 1.5 hectares of arable land (Zondag 1968:186). By 1964 the economy began to recover, but social pressures in the highlands continued to increase as well. For the children of many families there would be no land, or at least not enough for them to eke out a living. The cities offered only temporary relief since Bolivia as yet has no industrial base to support large urban populations. By the early 1960's many campesinos began to look toward Santa Cruz and the abundant farmland it offered as a possible solution.

Prior to the enactment of the Agrarian Reform laws, the three largest mines in Bolivia, those owned by Patiño, Hoeschchild, and Aramayo were nationalized and brought under the control of COMIBOL (Corporación Minera de Bolivia), an agency of the central government. According to Zondag (1968:109), "From an economic point of view, the impact of the 1952 revolution on the . . . mining industry has been a disaster." As the result of political patronage, COMIBOL was required to take on greater numbers of additional employees. The labor rolls jumped from 24,000 mine employees in 1951 to 36,558 in 1958 (Zondag 1968:120). At the same time, production had slumped from a 1949 total of 34,600 metric tons of tin ore mined to the COMIBOL 1961 figure of only 15,000 metric tons (Zondag 1968:120). Low market prices, poor

administration, depletion of ore deposits along with the practice of featherbedding, all contributed to the decline of the mining sector. The labor situation became acute. Mining unions represented a formidable obstacle to the attempts at streamlining mining operations and efforts to increase mechanization in the mines. At one point it became more profitable to pay miners to remain at home than put them on the job using up expensive materials such as explosives to quarry what was mostly worthless rock.

In 1961 the crisis of COMIBOL reached its peak. The mines had been operating in the red for almost ten years without any indication that conditions would improve. It is unknown what the losses were for the period 1952-1957, but between 1958 and 1961 the deficit totalled approximately 52.2 million dollars (Romero 1974:303). The rise of Fidel Castro in 1959 coupled with the rumored offers by the USSR to bail out COMIBOL spurred western governments to a hasty loan proposal of US \$37,750,000. The Plan Triangular, as it was known, would supply technical as well as financial assistance to the failing industry. There were strings attached, however, and COMIBOL was expected to make major alterations in its administrative practices. By 1964 COMIBOL, aided by the rising price of tin on the world market, was at last operating at a profit. Economic solvency was short-lived,

however. Production costs rose at a much greater rate than the market could absorb, and in 1966 COMIBOL was once again in debt--41 million dollars' worth. This deficit was transferred to the Presupuesto Nacional (national budget) which in turn was covered by US financial assistance to Bolivia. Another 20 million dollars over the original loan was allocated under the Plan, but the mining industry failed to respond. As Romero has stated somewhat cryptically, "The entity remains as an untouchable monument to inefficiency" (Romero 1974:308).

During the years the Plan Triangular was in operation, COMIBOL was required by provisions of the loan agreement to cut back on mine personnel. Miners were laid off amidst the hue and cry of the syndicate leaders, but even the labor unions were incapable of wielding enough coercive power to maintain previous employment levels. The industry was sick, and there was no cure in sight. One of the major problems faced by the Bolivian revolutionary government was that of relocating the ex-miners. Many simply drifted into the cities or back into the countryside, in search of some alternate source of income. Others justifiably argued that the government should make some provision for them. Aid was sought from several international agencies, including the Interamerican Development Bank (IDB), to fund

colonization projects in the lowlands. It was hoped that these programs would not only offer a solution to the problem of unemployed miners, but at the same time would serve as an escape valve for the pressures created by land-hungry campesinos. In reality, colonization accomplished neither of these goals, but it contributed to the first trickle of highland migrants into the lowlands which in succeeding years was to become an avalanche.

Though it has been debated heatedly whether or not the 1952 revolution was of any significant economic advantage to the highlands (that it represented definite achievements in the social sphere has not been denied), it proved to be the necessary impetus to awaken Santa Cruz from its years of lethargy and plunge it headlong into the modern capitalistic system. Cornelius Zondag opens his chapter on the lowlands of Santa Cruz with the following statement:

Even the most severe critics of the Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionaria admit one thing: the developmental efforts of the MNR discovered a new, tropical Bolivia. Admitting that the idea of developing the plains was not new, it was now up to the nationalist revolutionary government to make this dream a reality. (Zondag 1968:193)

The Cochabamba-Santa Cruz highway was completed, and railroads were pushed through to the Brazilian and



Argentine borders. With major transportation routes now available, Santa Cruz could look beyond its own boundaries toward national and international markets for its agricultural products.

Since colonial times, Santa Cruz agriculturalists have concentrated on the production of two marketable items, sugar and rice. Of course, many secondary crops have been cultivated such as corn, bananas, manioc, coffee, pineapple and peanuts, but sugarcane and rice traditionally represented the stanchion of the regional marketing system. In times past, sugar was produced on the finca; the cane was pressed and the juice rendered into sugar and other byproducts in the huge pailas, earthen cauldrons fired with dry kindling. The sugar was then stored in pottery urns called hormas, with a layer of moist clay spread on top to bleach out some of the molasses. Until the 1950's, all of the sugar produced in Santa Cruz was made in this manner.

In 1949 the lowlands provided only 249 tons of sugar for national consumption. Then in 1952 a private concern constructed the first commercial sugar mill in the area, located between Santa Cruz and the town of Warnes, in the heart of cane country. This was "La Bélgica," soon to be followed by another private mill, "San Aurelio," built on the outskirts of the city of Santa Cruz. Funds were made available by the new

revolutionary government to cane growers for the expansion of sugarcane production and to business enterprises interested in constructing new mills. One of the latter was "La Esperanza," which recieved a loan of US \$400,000 and was soon augmenting lowland output by 460,000 kilos of sugar per year (Romero 1974:257). By 1957 the government mill north of Monerto, "Guabirá," was completed along with a paved highway connecting the mill to Santa Cruz and the route to the interior. As each succeeding mill was brought into production, more and more land was put to cane. In 1958 there were 5,800 hectares in sugarcane. This amount had risen to 24,600 hectares by 1964. In tonnages of sugar produced, the 1949 figure of 249 tons jumped to 93,600 tons in 1964 and peaked at 115,700 tons in 1969 (Reye 1974:13). Sugar importations dropped from 66,700 tons in 1956 to zero in 1964. Exportation began in 1960 on a small scale of only 500 tons. However, by 1969, exports had risen to 10,000 tons annually (Reye 1974:13).

The impact of commercial sugar production in Santa Cruz was far reaching. More than 12,000 zafreros (cane cutters) were needed each year to get the crop in. Most Cambas were unwilling to hire out for the back-breaking work, so labor had to be sought elsewhere. Highlanders responded to the call for zafreros, many of them campesinos in search of off-season work to

supplement their farm incomes. The cane harvest coincided nicely with the three-month fallow period preceding spring planting. There are no data available regarding the number of cane cutters who may have chosen to remain in the lowlands, but numerous highlanders now residing in towns or on small farms throughout the Santa Cruz region confess that it was the cane harvest which gave them their first glimpse of lowland life. They liked it and decided to stay.

The development of rice production in Santa Cruz followed a similar pattern to that of sugar. At the time of the revolution of 1952, Bolivia was importing 53 per cent of its consumption needs or 83,000 quintales (100 lbs.) of rice per year (Romero 1974:257). Land under rice cultivation in Santa Cruz amounted to 16,000 hectares in 1955 and increased to 35,815 hectares in 1964. Rice production for 1964 reached 42,500 tons, exceeding national demand by 10,000 tons. By the following year the rice growers cut back 30 per cent on cultivation as a result of the previous year's overproduction (Zondag 1968:194).

The boom being experienced by Santa Cruz agriculture made lowland settlement seem more palatable to many highlanders. There was money to be made in the area, and land was available in large quantities at relatively low cost. Even colonization no longer

appeared to be such an ends-of-the-earth proposition. The prospect of homesteading the lowlands became of increasing interest to nonnational groups as well. In its efforts to spur the development of the Santa Cruz region, the Bolivian government granted large tracts of land to foreign migrants demonstrating a willingness to become permanent and productive agriculturalists. To the north, in the center of prime rice producing terrain, the Japanese established the San Juan colony. To the east, the Okinawans set up their colony of the same name and are engaged in both cane and rice growing. A group of Old Colony Mennonites have been allotted land to the south of Santa Cruz, and their small settlements are well on the way to prosperity.

Coincidental to the great awakening of agriculture in Santa Cruz has been the exploitation of oil resources in the region. Although petroleum extraction has not contributed significantly to the labor market, employing only about 2,000 persons or 1 per cent of the departmental labor pool, it has made available substantial capital to the development of the region. By law, the Comité de Obras Públicas (Public Works Department) of Santa Cruz receives 11 per cent of the revenues obtained from petroleum products extracted in the department. By 1974 Obras Públicas had invested US \$17,800,000 within the city of Santa Cruz for sewers, potable water,

paving, and other urban projects. In the countryside, another US \$6,050,000 has been dispersed for rural electrification programs and potable water systems (Reye 1974:11). At this point it is interesting to note that the Comité de Obras Públicas of Santa Cruz has succeeded in hiring many of the most promising young architects, engineers and planners in Bolivia, owing no doubt to the fact that it is one of the few governmental bureaucracies which pays well, on time, and has adequate funding for its projects.

The beginning of the 1970's witnessed a temporary decline in sugarcane cultivation brought about by several droughts, sugarcane blight, and progressively lower prices. Hectares of land under cane cultivation dropped from 35,000 in 1970 to 27,000 hectares in 1971. During this decline, many growers switched from cane to cotton which was demanding high prices on the world market and which had demonstrated good adaptability to the soil and climatic conditions of the region. Formerly cotton had been grown in the lowlands by only one enterprise, the "Algodonera," a privately owned, government-subsidized monopoly. A new administration in La Paz opened up cotton production to free enterprise, and everyone, farmers with large and small holdings alike, jumped on the bandwagon. From the 6,000 hectares controlled by the Algodonera in 1968, cotton cultivation spiraled to 67,000 hectares in 1974

(Reye 1974:15). Most of this cotton is destined for export, an income which in 1973 assisted Bolivia's balance of payments by 19 million dollars.

Aside from the economic impact on the region, the shift from cane to the more lucrative crop of cotton has occasioned demographic repercussions throughout the nation as well. Unlike sugarcane which during harvest makes use of small groups of primarily male laborers to cut, clean, and load the cane on trucks, cotton harvesting is highly labor intensive and a good deal less strenuous. Thus it requires large numbers of pickers who are not necessarily restricted by age or sex. Once again, the lowlands were not able to meet the demand for labor, and contractors were sent into the highlands to hire individuals, families, or even entire villages and ship them down to the cotton fields of Santa Cruz. In 1974, 34,000 pickers worked in the cotton harvest and it has been estimated that over half remained in the lowlands (Federación de Campesinos 1975).

The surging economy of Santa Cruz not only has been a major inducement for the highlander to migrate to the lowlands, but at the same time has benefited from that migration. For along with the thousands of harvesters have come the camp followers--merchants, craftsmen, artisans, and unskilled laborers--all riding the crest of free-flowing money. It is the place for the

entrepreneur, where with a modicum of luck and experience any small enterprise will mushroom into a profitable business.

Lowlanders have not been overly enthusiastic about this recent invasion of their homeland by highland Bolivians, but they are fully aware of the positive impact it has had on the growth and development of the region. The deeply embedded prejudices held by the Camba will ultimately be eroded away by time and by the sheer numbers of highlanders moving into Santa Cruz. Perhaps the fate of the Camba is that they will simply cease to exist, only to rise in their stead a new and truly "emergent society" of lowland Bolivians.

### CHAPTER THREE

#### MIGRATION TO A PRIMATE CITY: SANTA CRUZ DE LA SIERRA

Santa Cruz de la Sierra, or simply Santa Cruz, is the capital of the department of the same name and is the largest urban center in the lowlands. Nearly a third of the department's half million inhabitants reside in the city of Santa Cruz (Reye 1974:104), and although other smaller cities such as Montero are rapidly gaining in prominence, it is Santa Cruz which remains the center of all governmental and commercial activity in the region.

The precipitous growth of the city from 43,000 inhabitants in 1950 to 170,000 in 1973 may be attributed mostly to internal migration in Bolivia. It has been estimated that 17 per cent of the city's residents are migrants from other departments, primarily those of the interior. Another 18 per cent are Cambas who have left their farms and villages to move to Santa Cruz (Reye 1974:101). For the highland migrant, the enticement of the lowland capital has been overwhelmingly the promise of economic gain. At present the department



boasts the highest per capita income in the nation, and the city is attracting about half of those highlanders seeking better income opportunities in the lowlands. The Camba migrants have expressed several motives for leaving the countryside, including, of course, higher wages, but educational needs and the desire to live in an urban situation--the so-called "bright lights" syndrome--also enter into the decision to migrate.

Santa Cruz is now very much a reflection of the great flows of migrants which have settled within the city's boundaries. The lowland migrant, for the most part, has been assimilated into the resident population. The highlander has added an entirely new dimension to traditional Cruceñan society.

### The City

The city of Santa Cruz began as a traditional Mediterranean-style settlement of streets set out in a grid pattern with a central plaza. The physical orientation, whether by plan or accident, is almost true to the cardinal axes. Dominating the south side of the main square, the Plaza 24 de Septiembre, is the Santa Cruz Cathedral. It is frequently photographed by errant fans of colonial art, but in actuality the building is only 50 years old. On the north side of the plaza

is the Banco Nacional de Bolivia, a neo-Baroque structure painted a brilliant turquoise blue. To the east and west are public and private buildings including the mayor's office (Alcaldía), the police department (Intendencia), the Departmental offices (Prefectura), restaurants, tourist shops, bookstores, and a movie theater.

Unlike urban centers in other parts of the world, the inner city has not degenerated into a slum area but remains the hub of social and commercial activity. Many of the older Cruceñan families continue to make their homes there. The buildings for the most part are single-story masonry or wattle-and-daub which has been plastered and whitewashed. Roofs are almost uniformly Spanish tile. A few multistory buildings have been completed; the newest and tallest, still under construction, rises 12 stories. Still, when viewed from a high vantage point, the city presents a calm sea of curved, lichen-splotched tile. Only occasionally is the stone interrupted by a concrete structure rising above the mass of red-orange roofs.

Prior to the installation of sewer lines and the paving of the first streets near the main plaza, Santa Cruz was characterized by two extremes: dust and mud. During dry weather, winds of the plains of Grigotá drove sand and silt down every thoroughfare in town. The tile

roofs of homes and business establishments trapped pockets of soil which in turn served as seed beds for spiny cactus plants. The torrential rains brought momentary respite from the billowing dust, but the streets were soon converted into flowing rivers of mud. In 1966 paving was begun and gradually the sand was pushed back onto the plains. Gutters now carry away the street overflows from heavy downpours, making the rains only a temporary nuisance.

The outskirts of Santa Cruz, however, remain much as the inner city was in earlier years, although changes are being made. As money becomes available, Obras Públicas lays a few more meters of sewer pipe and seals the roadbed with locetas\*--hexagonal-shaped interlocking concrete blocks. As paving moves gradually toward the perimeter of the city, neighborhoods vie for political favors in order to be the first in the area to have sewers laid and streets improved. Except in residential districts of greatest influence, however, the

---

\*Aside from their curious honey-combed beauty, the locetas are also extremely adaptive to the needs of the city and to the lowland environment, reflecting the intense tropical heat rather than absorbing it as will an asphalt surface. Then too, the locetas are eminently practical. Because they are movable units, there is very little loss of material if additional street excavation becomes necessary. The locetas simply are placed to one side of the roadwork and then repositioned when the task is completed.

completion of sewers and streets has tended to move at an equal pace in all sectors.

### Settlement Zones

Four concentric circular thoroughways, called anillos, have been superimposed over the basic quadrilateral plan of the city. Two of these roads are wide and fast, enabling travelers to circumnavigate Santa Cruz without having to pass through the congested downtown areas. Like rings on a tree, the anillos mark the outward growth of Santa Cruz. Various types of settlement patterns are evident within the confines of each anillo, and the nature of each is greatly determined by the regional origins and economic status of the inhabitants.

The area enclosed by the first anillo, designated for the purpose of this study Zone 1, is the oldest part of Santa Cruz (see Figure 3). As previously mentioned, this sector continues to be inhabited predominantly by the old Cruceñan aristocracy, wealthy or otherwise. The area immediately contiguous to the main plaza has become primarily a commercial center, although many of the owners of downtown establishments live on the premises. Along with the old Camba families in Zone 1 are foreign immigrants engaged in commerce and a few

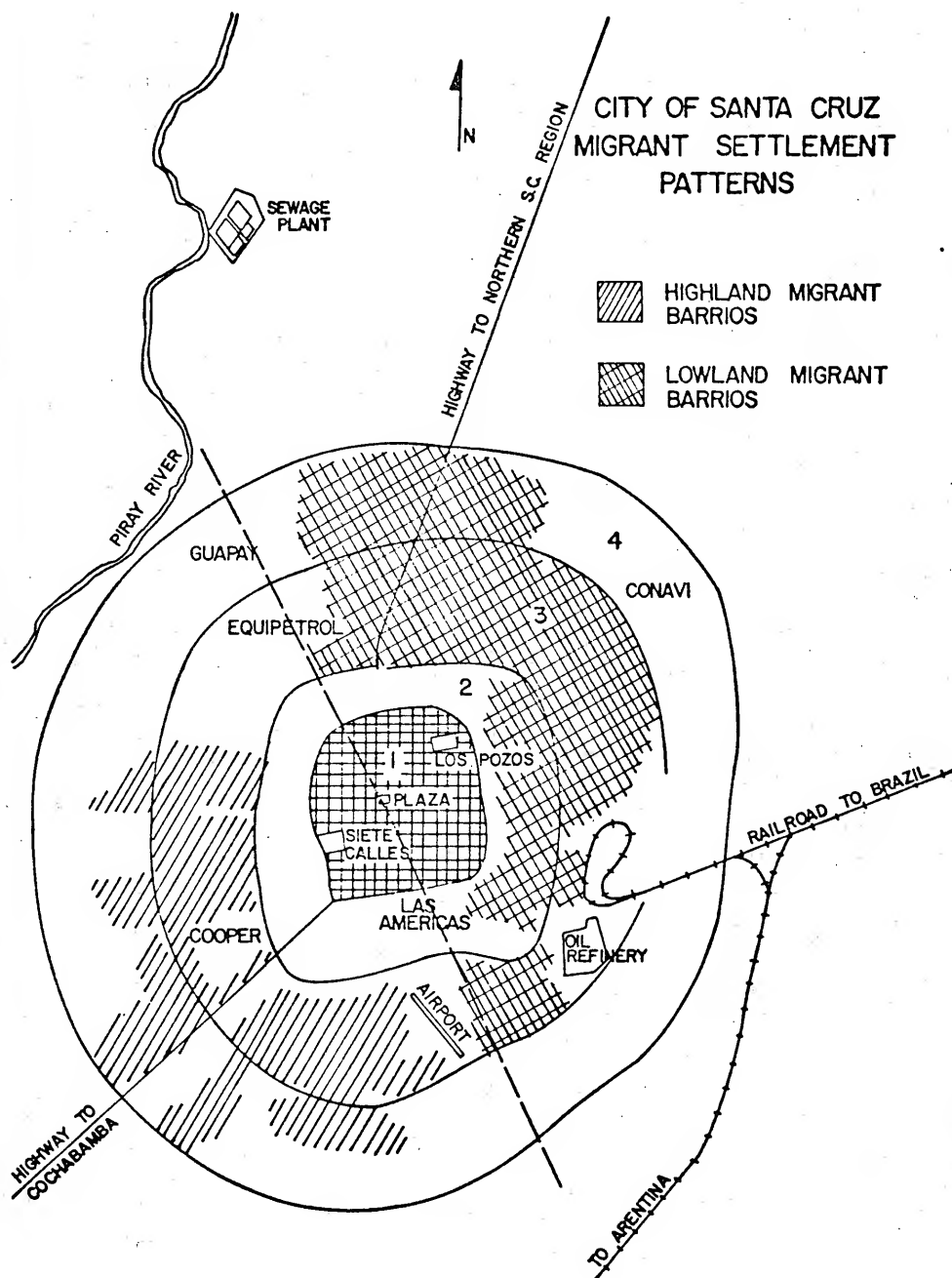


Figure 2. City of Santa Cruz - Migrant Settlement Patterns

campesino families which have accumulated adequate capital to permit them to acquire a town house. The only highland stronghold in this section of the city is centered around Los Pozos market, in the northeast. Like every open market in Santa Cruz, Los Pozos has been taken over by highland entrepreneurs. While most live in the migrant barrios outside of the second anillo, many have secured homes in the immediate area of the market. Others reside in the market proper, sleeping in their small stalls. Two additional markets are situated within the first anillo, Siete Calles and Mercado Nuevo, both of which have also been dominated by highland merchants. Unlike the Los Pozos case, however, highlanders have not settled around these markets, for Siete Calles and Mercado Nuevo are located closer to the center of town than is Los Pozos and are hemmed in by established Camba businesses and residences. Hence, most of the highland sellers have been unable to buy or rent in this area and must commute from the periphery of the city.

The second anillo is constructed of asphalt and forms the major link between the highway to northern Santa Cruz and the route to the interior which enters the city from the southwest. The residents living in the area between the first and second anillos (Zone 2) are also primarily lowlanders, although some highlanders

have begun to acquire homes and shops within this perimeter. The Cambas occupying Zone 2 are for the most part lower-middle income residents, middle income residents, and campesinos who migrated to Santa Cruz a number of years ago when this area constituted the outskirts of the city. Also within the zone are the stadium, half of the university (the other half is in Zone 3), and the majority of entertainment facilities such as restaurants, nightclubs and movie theaters. Homes here tend to be single family dwellings and aside from being of newer construction, look very much like those of Zone 1. Because of the presence of the second anillo and the Santa Cruz-Cochabamba highway, Zone 2 has become the service center for the transportation industry. Mechanics, parts shops, steam cleaning and lubrication pits are all concentrated in this sector of the city.

Crosscutting both Zone 1 and Zone 2 is the Avenida de las Américas, leading from the central business district to the airport. Along this avenue and for about three blocks on either side is situated one of the three upper income residential areas in Santa Cruz. Homes in the Américas district are large and expensive, and several are of unusual design. Wealthy Cruceños, many of them nouveaux riches, as well as foreign immigrants and the resident diplomats in the city own or rent dwellings along the avenue.

Two similar areas exist outside of the second anillo in Zone 3. The first, known as Equipetrol, began as part of the Gulf Oil camp where well-to-do oil executives built large, American-style houses. When the holdings of Gulf Oil were expropriated in 1969, the American colony vacated the site. Equipetrol became a second residential area for the city's elite, and has continued to expand rapidly because of the vacant tracts of land available nearby. Recently, a middle income housing project called "Guapay" has been tacked on to the rear of Equipetrol. These houses sell for US \$10,000 to \$12,000 and may be purchased on a 20-year loan after a modest down payment. Young professionals and middle level bureaucrats, mostly Cruceñan, make their homes there. The other upper income residential area located in Zone 3 is the Urbanización Cooper, located just south of Equipetrol. This was begun as a planned development but never managed to quite get off the ground. The streets were laid out and a few homes built, but the majority of lots are overgrown and unimproved.

The city of Santa Cruz has now stabilized within the confines of Zones 1 and 2. All of the streets in Zone 1 have been paved and those of Zone 2 are about to be completed. The greatest areas of flux lie outside of the second anillo, in what are now the fringe areas of the city. The remaining two anillos, three and four,



have been plotted on city planning maps and their locations marked with signs at strategic points, but in actuality they do not exist. Thus at present there is no apparent physical boundary between Zone 3 and Zone 4. For the purpose of analysis, however, they will be treated as separate entities.

The extent of urban sprawl in Santa Cruz was so underestimated that Zone 3, which is now a major residential area, is also the site of the oil refinery, airport, railheads for both the Brazilian and Argentine lines, the other half of the university, and the San Aurelio sugar mill. In addition, Zone 3 constitutes the district of greatest migrant concentration.

For the present, the major function of Zone 4 is to catch the spill from Zone 3. Much of the area is still in the process of being subdivided into lots, and public services are mostly nonexistent. Many of the residents are squatters, occupying land which has yet to be opened for settlement. A few of the larger migrant neighborhoods, or barrios, have begun to overflow into the fourth zone and, as they do, parcels are quickly surveyed for urban lots.

There are two exceptions to the rule of general lack of development in Zone 4. The first, Guapay, has been discussed previously. The second exception is the CONAVI project. CONAVI (Consejo Nacional de Vivienda),

the Bolivian counterpart of HUD, has granted funds to the city of Santa Cruz for the construction of low income housing. However, even with low interest loans, the cost of these homes, from US \$3,000 to \$3,500, is well beyond the reach of most of the city's poor. Consequently, CONAVI-built homes have been inhabited primarily by lower-middle income residents with a few in higher income brackets who, for one reason or another, desired to live there.

After the CONAVI project was begun, adjacent land was purchased by several private development corporations and by trade cooperatives, such as the Cooperativa Orgullo Camba. These private concerns built homes similar in design to those in CONAVI and offered the same provisions for long-term payment. The cooperatives and corporations, however, have not kept to the same specifications as the government project. As a result, many of the homes are sold and occupied before water and electricity have been brought into the area. The cost of installing these services must therefore be assumed by the new owners in addition to their house payments.

All of these corporations, cooperatives, and even the CONAVI program are owned or administered by lowlanders who have attempted to bar highlanders from settling in these projects. A few people from the interior are evident in CONAVI, which, after all, is

supported by national funding, but the private developments are uniformly Camba. One informant mentioned that there had been quite a struggle to exclude highlanders from the area, and that the Cambas had prevailed. Incidents such as this no doubt have contributed to the segregation of Santa Cruz by regional origins. Many highlanders confessed that they would rather live in their own barrios where they are not subjected to the scorn and ridicule of lowlanders. Lowlanders complain that they do not want highlanders intruding in their neighborhoods. Even so, housing shortages in the city are so acute that often one must settle where one can, regardless of origin or preference.

### The Migrant Barrios

Except for the old Gulf camp, now Equipetrol, the areas in Zone 3 are new settlements. Most have been carved out of former urban estates of the Cruceñan aristocracy. The Urban Reform Law prohibits the private ownership of more than one hectare of land within the four-kilometer radius of the city. Consequently, landowners have been faced with the options of either losing their holdings to government expropriation or having them surveyed into lots for subsequent sale. Most have made the decision to subdivide and sell, and in the majority

of cases owners have profited substantially from the transaction. It is in these newly formed residential tracts that recent arrivals to Santa Cruz have settled, creating a series of migrant barrios along the second anillo.

The migrant barrios are composed of either Camba or highlander concentrations, with one or the other group dominating in any single locality. In addition, the barrios themselves are clustered in accordance with the regional origins of the inhabitants, and this clustering has occasioned the bisection of the outer rings of the city. Thus if a line were to be drawn from the airport through the center of the plaza to the Equipetrol section, all of Zones 3 and 4 to the west of the line would be predominantly highland, and all of the same zones to the east would be Camba.

The pattern of migrant barrios initially emerged as a result of the location of major transportation routes. When the Brazilian and Argentine railroads were constructed, they opened communication along the routes with many of the inhabitants who previously had lived in relative isolation. An inevitable outcome of this increased contact was out-migration from the hinterlands. Since both railroads terminate in the southeastern part of the city, it is here that many of these Camba migrants settled. Because of heightened commercial activity in

the railroad areas, Santa Cruz began to grow toward the railroads. When the limits of outward growth had reached the terminal yards, the urban spread began moving toward the northeast section of the city. Much of the area to the south was already occupied by industrial centers such as the oil refinery and the San Aurelio sugar mill. The airport also constituted a considerable barrier to settlement toward the southwest. At the same time, lowland migrants were arriving from the north via the Santa Cruz-Montero highway. These new arrivals acquired property on either side of the northern entrance to Santa Cruz, but settlement toward the west was inhibited by the presence of the Equipetrol/Guapay complex. The migrants from the north were therefore forced by circumstance to expand housing areas toward the northeastern sector of the city. Thus the zones situated between the airport and Equipetrol on the eastern side of Santa Cruz became predominantly Camba migrant barrios.

Coinciding with the settlement by lowlanders in the eastern half of the city was the establishment of highland migrant barrios in the west. The Santa Cruz-Cochabamba highway enters the city from the southwest, so earlier migrants arriving from the interior sought homes in this general area. A large open market, Las Ramadas, also began to develop near the entry point of the highway serving to add further interest among

highlanders to settle in this sector of the city. Thus the western half of Santa Cruz as delimited by Equipetrol and the airport became highland strongholds.

Recent settlement in these areas cannot be attributed so much to the migrant's point of entry as was the case in the past. Once the new barrios began to grow, additional residents were recruited primarily as the result of chain migration. Either through the use of family networks or by word of mouth, both highlanders and Cambas contemplating the move to Santa Cruz have a very good idea of where they would prefer to establish residence. In many instances relatives or friends provide temporary habitation for the newly arrived migrants and their families. If these supports do not exist, migrants in need of shelter will tend to search first in those barrios where people from their own particular region make their homes. However, because of the present housing shortage in the city, many migrants now are forced to rent a room or house in any area which offers a vacancy. One informant said that it had taken her three weeks to find a small room to rent. In the meantime, one of the barrio residents where she first arrived let her sleep in a corner of the kitchen--for a small fee.

The problems encountered by the recent migrant to Santa Cruz are not mitigated by assistance groups such

as the regional associations which exist in other parts of the world. In his analysis of the migrant associations in Lima, for example, Doughty has stated

the migrant regional associations serve a variety of important functions for the individual and the nation by helping to maintain key social institutions and relationships. These tend to slow down the stressful pace of social and cultural interactions which often make demands on the individual new to the city. (Doughty 1970:30)

Mangin (1973) adds an additional dimension to the function of the regional association in Lima. As an outgrowth of shortages in suitable living space, migrants have found that if they act in groups, usually regional associations, they can effectively invade government land on the outskirts of the city and claim squatters' rights. As a result, the migrant *barriadas* of Lima have mushroomed wherever vacant land is available.

Perhaps because migrants arriving in Santa Cruz are not funneled into a central slum area where rapid disorientation and depersonalization occur, nor have limited opportunities to purchase land near their friends and family, regional associations have failed to materialize. The existence of social clubs, especially among highlanders, is not denied, but they certainly are not prevalent. In speaking with those few informants who admitted membership in such groups, it was evident that

these clubs are very loosely structured, and serve primarily as a means to provide dancing and drinking partners for the members. There was no indication that any additional service such as offering assistance in acquiring employment or shelter was a function of these social clubs.

#### Settlement Similarities in Highland and Lowland Migrant Barrios

Although ethnic differences have tended to dichotomize settlement characteristics of highland and lowland migrant barrios, both districts exhibit important similarities in residential patterns and processes. One of these is the sequence of settlement. As a general rule of thumb, those property owners in the migrant barrios who live closer to the center of Santa Cruz are the older residents in the neighborhood and have the better homes. This appears to be simply a time/space effect rather than one of hierarchical social ordering. Because of the radial growth of the city outward, the areas of the barrio nearest the nucleus of Santa Cruz were settled first, with subsequent settlement gradually moving toward the distal end of the neighborhood. Barrio stabilization also follows this time/space continuum. Thus a greater number of permanent structures are evident in the area where settlement commenced, and



temporary dwellings predominate in the area of newest habitation at the other extreme.

While both migrant areas exhibit similar patterns of settlement sequence and stabilization, they are also alike in the heterogeneity of the income status of residents as demonstrated by differences in housing types. In the older sections of migrant barrios, or those nearer the urban nucleus, the disparity in housing between the affluent and the less-affluent is not so pronounced. Here the majority of housing is of brick construction with tile roofs. The wealthier residents built their homes at the outset of settlement, and may have added on to them over the years. The poorer residents will also have brick homes, but they usually are smaller and less complex in design. For this segment of the barrio population it has been time, rather than wealth, which has permitted the transition to a permanent structure (e. g., adobe to brick). Many inhabitants spent years in acquiring brick, cement, and other building materials before they finally were able to construct a better home. The same succession of events is occurring in the more recently settled areas of the migrant barrios where stabilization is still in process. On any one street in a newer section of the migrant neighborhood then, a variety of housing types is evident.

The highland barrio, 4 de Noviembre, has been in existence for about six years and represents the result of the outward expansion of its contiguous neighbor, Villa San Luís. Because the barrio is a newer settlement and still in a state of flux, it is a good example of migrant housing progression. In looking at one street consisting of 20 lots, 10 on either side, it is found to be composed of the following:

- a. Three large, substantial brick homes with tile roofs and such amenities as mosaic tile floors, curtains at the windows, lawns and flower beds. One of these homes boasts a small swimming pool. All three are surrounded by high masonry walls.
- b. Two large, substantial homes, tile roofs, presently unfinished but inhabited. Neither is walled or fenced and is only partially furnished.
- c. Four smaller brick homes consisting of two or three rooms. Only one has a surrounding wall.
- d. One adobe brick house with tile roof. One room.
- e. Two combinations of two houses, one small masonry and one wattle and daub with thatched roof.
- f. Five lámina houses, one or two rooms. "Lámina" is the term used for the refuse of the veneer factory. The thin sheets of wood are collected and then used like shingles to cover a rude frame. The lámina will last for only two or three years after which time it begins to deteriorate and must be replaced in part or whole. However, it does offer the advantage of quick, inexpensive housing.

- g. One combination of two houses, one lámina and one small brick still under construction. The owners live in the lámina house.
- h. Two vacant lots being offered for sale.

The owners of the three large uncompleted homes constructed their residences soon after the lots were purchased. Of the two large homes still unfinished, one is used as rental property by the owner who lives closer to central Santa Cruz. The rent for this home, which is still greatly lacking in comforts (walls are unfinished mortar and there is nothing but bare dirt surrounding the exterior), is US \$175.00 per month. The price is steep by any standard but is indicative of the housing pressures now being experienced by Santa Cruz. The other unfinished home is being built in stages by its owner, a mason, and supersedes a lámina structure which earlier housed the family. Owners of the remaining residences are gradually working toward property improvement, with the exception of those individuals involved in the business of renting.

It is not uncommon for migrants to rent a room or rooms in their home from time to time for the purpose of increasing family cash income. For many, this is a convenient way to accumulate money for the further improvement of their dwellings. However, there is a certain amount of slum-lording going on in the migrant barrios, especially with reference to the highland settlements. These property owners have built inexpensive housing

facilities for the expressed purpose of financial gain. Their major interest like slum lords everywhere, is not in spending money to improve the property, but to extract as much profit as possible. Some of these landlords may live on the premises; others will reside in a separate home within the same barrio or perhaps in another. As the neighborhood begins to stabilize and more permanent homes are constructed, property values increase. Ultimately it becomes more profitable to sell the substandard dwellings rather than maintain them.\* The second or third owners eventually will tear down the old rental housing and replace it with a single-family masonry home.

In spite of individual efforts to upgrade living environments, migrant barrios have tended to be classified as peripheral city slums and consequently are often the targets for urban renewal projects. However, as previously indicated, when such areas are permitted to follow the natural course of their development, substandard housing is eventually eliminated. John Turner (1970) has described a similar situation for the *barriadas* of Lima which, like Santa Cruz, begin with low-cost, poor

---

\*A "standard" home as defined by Obras Públicas of Santa Cruz is one which is of masonry or finished lumber construction, has a permanent roof (not thatch), flooring, water piped in, electricity, and sanitary facilities.

quality housing but which over time evolve into residential areas of at least standard if not better-than-standard homes. As the result of high motivation and initiative, migrants will work toward the betterment of their property, contributing both time and materials to the effort. Unfortunately, this improvement may take as long as 15-20 years, a time span which most urban planners find unacceptable. Hence, many cities have become involved in costly projects of instant development. John Turner argues that large expenditures of public monies are basically unnecessary and even wasteful when applied to urban renewal projects for a city's migrant population. Not only are these programs costly, but they also operate on premises which do not necessarily apply to the situation at hand. Turner proposes that

the principle of minimum modern standards is based on three assumptions: that high structural and equipment standards take precedence over high space standards; that households can and should move when their socioeconomic status has changed so that they can afford to have a larger (above minimum) standard dwelling; and that the function of the house is, above all, to provide a hygienic and comfortable shelter. While these assumptions are valid in the United States, they do not hold true for such countries as Peru, Turkey and the Philippeans. (Turner 1970:2)

When given the opportunity, Turner continues, most migrant families "show that they prefer to live in large unfinished houses--or even large shacks--than in small finished ones" (Turner 1970:2).

The views of John Turner receive additional confirmation in the Santa Cruz case. Over time, what was initially an area of lámina shacks and mud houses becomes a residential sector of primarily standard housing which in the long run is better constructed, has more living area, and was probably less expensive to build than the typical mass-produced urban renewal unit. The problem, of course, is time, and even now Cruceñan city planners are considering the possibility of funding urban development programs to remove the migrant barrio "eye-sores."

Aside from the problem inherent in the disruption of an orderly and positive progression of development, the removal of the existing migrant settlements would have other far-reaching repercussions. Much of the vitality of the migrant barrio lies in the socioeconomic diversity of the inhabitants. A renewal project would tend to level this diversity resulting in a homogeneous population based primarily on poverty. A certain outcome of such a program, which has numerous world-wide precedents, is the creation of a newer and more expensive slum, but one which has little hope for improvement. The migrant barrios of Santa Cruz are testimony to the belief that individual initiative and private resource allocation are perhaps better answers to problems of urban development in migrant settlement areas. It is certainly a much less costly proposition and one which holds some

promise of creating a more viable and enduring social environment.

In looking at the great socioeconomic diversity in the Santa Cruz migrant barrios, one is struck with the inevitable question of site selection by the more affluent residents. Given that some barrio inhabitants from the outset were financially capable of a wider choice in the location of a dwelling, why have they selected to build their homes in a raw, undeveloped sector of Santa Cruz? For many, ethnic solidarity is an important factor. They simply prefer to live in areas where fellow villagers or people from the same region reside. But additional possibilities must also be considered when dealing with the financially elite of any barrio.

When queried as to why a particular lot in a migrant barrio was chosen, several informants replied that cost was a major consideration. They wanted a spacious homesite at a reasonable price and it did not really matter where the lot was located. It is this type of situation which exemplifies some basic differences in attitudes among the city's populace toward space allocation. The middle and upper income residents of Santa Cruz who have purchased homes in the Américas district, Equipetrol, Guapay, and even the CONAVI project have adopted the middle-class North American model of

externalizing space. The homes in these areas are usually built in the center of the lot and are surrounded with wide lawns and flower beds. If a security barrier is present, it normally consists of an iron fence rather than a wall. Thus there is a conscious effort to expand the visual field of exterior space. The more traditional custom, on the other hand, is to internalize the use of space. This is the pattern which is more prevalent in the migrant neighborhoods. Houses are built either right to the property limits with inner courtyards or are surrounded by a high masonry wall. Once an affluent barrio resident has entered the privacy of his home compound, it does not matter who his neighbors are or what their living conditions may be.

The existence of a handful of relatively well-to-do residents in each migrant barrio may also be related to prevailing attitudes regarding the achievement of a high status position in society. When compared on a city-wide income scale, the affluent barrio dweller by no means would fall into the upper-income bracket. If these individuals were to move into a typically middle-income Cruceñan neighborhood, it would be difficult to distinguish them economically from any of the other residents. However, out in the barrio the contrast is immediately apparent, and persons of only average income become "wealthy" when compared to the majority of their



neighbors. In many such instances, the affluent members of the barrio are entrusted with or assume numerous leadership responsibilities with the result that they soon occupy positions of power. The opportunity to become the "baron" of a migrant neighborhood is seldom rejected. It would be difficult to correlate any direct relationship between the decision to settle in a migrant area and the desire to achieve high status, but once residence has been established, it is probable that social prominence is instrumental in the choice to remain there. One resident stated that he was often requested to become the compadre of neighbors and that they sought his advice on important personal matters. He also expressed the belief that the barrio needed him and that it was his responsibility to respond to this need. The borrowing of money is not encouraged, but many barrio barons will furnish a small loan from time to time. Thus it becomes evident that although migrant barrios represent a disruption of previous lifestyles and patterns of interaction, the continuity of traditional social institutions remains basically undisturbed. The patron-client relationship is reestablished almost immediately in the new environment in spite of the novelty of the situation.

In summary, all migrant barrios, whether composed of highland or lowland migrants, exhibit the following characteristics:

1. The incidence of permanent structures decreases as the distance from the nucleus of the city increases.
2. Those migrants who have resided in the barrio for the greatest length of time tend to own permanent dwellings and to be located in that sector of the settlement which is closest to the center of the city.
3. Migrant barrios are heterogeneous in the income status composition of their inhabitants as reflected by variations in housing types.
4. Over time, migrant settlements will progressively improve dwelling standards, and resident stability will be increased.
5. Traditional social institutions such as the patron-client relationship and the compadrazgo are rapidly reestablished among barrio dwellers.

#### The Highland/Lowland Settlement Dichotomy

While all migrant barrios demonstrate certain similarities in settlement patterns and characteristics, there are also recognizable differences between the highland and lowland residential areas. These differences

in large part may be attributed to the cultural traditions and ecological adaptations intrinsic to each group.

Although highland housing types are not particularly suited to the lowland environment, they are very much in evidence in the migrant barrios of Santa Cruz. For many recent arrivals, the rapid construction of inexpensive shelter is of paramount importance. Most migrants are not concerned with the problem of whether or not what they consider to be a temporary structure may be the ideal design for their present habitat. Then too, many migrants newly arriving from the interior have little or no knowledge of lowland technologies or simply may not perceive the disadvantages of traditional highland architecture. Thus each highland barrio has numerous adobe brick homes, in contrast to the Camba neighborhoods which tend toward mud and wattle construction of non-permanent dwellings.

The primary objection to adobe brick is that after the foundations have been continually soaked by the Cruceñan rains, the entire building becomes unsound. The mud and wattle house, on the other hand, is composed of embedded wooden posts, and although the mud walls may eventually melt away, the original weight-bearing structure remains intact. Another problem encountered by highlanders with adobe houses in the lowlands is the failure to recognize the need to extend the roof overhang.

In the interior, where humidity is quite low and rain infrequent, it is not necessary to protect adobe walls from rain wash. However, in the lowland environment, even permanent masonry structures tend to have ample roof coverage to combat the erosive effect of constant dampness. After experiencing the problems of wall deterioration with traditional adobe dwellings, many highlanders have modified the design by raising foundations and extending roof overhang.

For this and other reasons, lámina houses are not popular among lowland migrants. Not only do they leak and get soggy after long periods of rain, but they also become overrun by all manner of pests. Highlanders are accustomed to a relatively dry and insect-free existence, and by building a lámina house, they magnify all the problems inherent to a moist, bug-ridden environment. After only a few months of habitation, lámina dwellings with all their cracks, crevices, and overlapping shingles become infested with cockroaches, spiders, scorpions, centipedes, and ticks. They are, however, the cheapest, fastest house to build, take little construction expertise, and so have become abundant in the highland barrios. Cambas prefer to remain with their mud and wattle pauhuichis. It may take somewhat longer to build and a good bit of skill, but most males as well as females have knowledge of the techniques involved and can

erect at least a frame with roof cover in a matter of days.

Another basic difference between the housing patterns of the migrant settlement zones is the existence of two-story structures in the highland neighborhoods. In many village situations in the interior it is common to find two-story adobe buildings. The upper floor is often a sleeping area with the ground floor reserved for family activities and perhaps cooking. However, in the highlands cold, rather than heat, is the dominant climatic feature. A two-story home offers some advantages for the maximization of warmth in that the second floor will trap heat generated from below. Needs are reversed in Santa Cruz, and ceilings and roofs are high in order to dissipate heat from within. The worst place to be in a Camba house is up near the roof. In addition to the heat buildup problems, a two-story structure in Santa Cruz must be able to withstand strong rains and wind, something which cannot be accomplished with traditional lowland construction materials. Consequently, design requirements along with the lack of a cultural precedent have inhibited the building of two-story dwellings in the Camba barrios.

The highlanders who have erected two-story homes in the migrant areas are not numerous, and in every case are the more affluent residents. By necessity, these structures are of masonry construction with reinforced

concrete roof and wall supports. They are massive and expensive to build. Whether or not anyone has ever attempted to build a two-story adobe brick house in the city is unknown, but the absence of this very common highland dwelling type must indicate that at some point its lack of feasibility became readily apparent.

Perhaps the most noticeable contrast between the two migrant areas is the high population density of the highland barrios, manifested both in housing types as well as in the number of dwelling units per lot. Camba neighborhoods exhibit a fairly uniform pattern of a single house per lot, inhabited by a nuclear family or rarely, by a group of extended kin. As previously noted, a spare room may be rented to a recent arrival, but seldom is this person unrelated to the homeowner. There are few cases of additional housing having been built to accommodate renters. Conversely, the highland migrant barrios are filled with rental "complexes," composed of numerous small lámina shacks or other small buildings, or one or two "long houses" with separate rooms which house several families, or a combination of both. Rents are high and space at a premium. One 3x3-meter room in a lámina house with a dirt floor, communal water faucet, no electricity, and no sanitary facilities was

renting for US \$10.00 per month.\* The owner of this complex of eight units stated that a day seldom passed when someone did not stop by to inquire about a room. When one tenant leaves, the vacancy is immediately filled by another.

Along with the highland practice of filling every available space with some type of rentable shelter, it is also common to find large numbers of individuals living in a single room. One rental complex of four rooms, each measuring approximately 3x4 meters, is occupied by 22 persons. The lot measures 15x20 meters and also contains a covered shed where cotton mattresses and pillows are made. The inhabitants of this complex are unrelated families and are all employed at the bedding factory. Another similar situation consists of three separate dwellings: a small brick kiosk where the property owner and her family live, a lámina house of three rooms rented by two sisters and their families and an unmarried seamstress, and the third building which is interesting in that it presents a housing variation which demonstrates some ingenuity. It would have to be classified as a type

---

\*Most migrants, highland or Camba, stated that they averaged from US \$8.00 to \$10.00 per week in family income. Very few males had steady jobs, so the difference was often made up by the wife who supplemented family income by washing, selling, sewing, etc.

of wattle and daub, except that the "wattle" consists of lengths of clay sewer pipe which have been placed vertically side by side and the interstices filled with mud. This structure houses two families, unrelated to each other or to any of the other residents in the complex.

In searching for explanations for the existence of high population and housing unit densities among highland migrants as opposed to the reverse situation for Cambas, several possible interpretations merit consideration. Because of the scarcity of arable land in the highlands, settlements tend to be situated on terrain which is least suited for crops, or, when they are located on arable property, are clustered so as to occupy as little tillable soil as possible. Thus it is common to find dispersed homesteads, but ones which may combine several nuclear families of one kin group into a single living compound. William Carter (1967), writing on the Aymara, refers to these kinship groups as "unidades domésticas" (domestic units) while Daniel Heyduk (1971) speaks of homesteads consisting of extended families for the Quechua. There can be no doubt that a parallel may be drawn between the domestic unit or extended kin compounds found among highlanders in the interior and the living complex prevalent in the highland migrant barrios of Santa Cruz. However, as will be discussed in the next section of this chapter, most migrants in the city of Santa Cruz do not



come originally or directly from a rural situation, and information on urban lifestyles among the lower income groups, which comprise the majority of migrants, is generally lacking. About all that can be said concerning this aspect of multiple residence compounds is that they may have precedents in the highlands, but any direct relationship between the two would be difficult to substantiate. The tradition is there, but it may be a generation or two removed from those who are actually migrating.

That lowlanders do not encourage residence situations consisting of numerous related or unrelated individuals not only is evidenced by their settlement patterns but also is tied to their concept of personal growth. Independence and self-reliance are cultural ideals among the Camba, and it is a great part of individual pride, *orgullo personal*, to be able to establish a household separate from familial assistance and interference. Even many of the elderly, if they are not infirm, will choose to remain along in their own homes rather than be taken in by a younger member of the family. It is only when no other option is available that an extended family will occupy one place of habitation. The idea of intentionally structuring one's dwelling so as to invite residence from persons who are not part of the nuclear family is incomprehensible to the Camba. They are still very much people

of the frontier, and like other frontiersmen begin to feel uncomfortable when their relatives and neighbors are too close at hand. Perhaps part of the explanation is that highlanders and lowlanders simply differ in their personal space boundaries. Hence, what is unbearable crowding to a Camba may be a quite tolerable existence for the highlander. During the course of interviews, highland migrant informants would mention dissatisfaction with their physical environment but were generally unconcerned about the number of people who surrounded them. Only when personal animosities prevailed was there any expressed desire to seek a new social environment.

Another factor which must be considered in analyzing the disparity in settlement densities is the sheer number of individuals coming into the lowlands. Once again the lack of sufficient demographic data reduces any estimate to supposition, but some general observations are possible. The 1968 housing census conducted by Obras Públicas revealed that 18 per cent of the city's population had immigrated from other areas of the department (lowlanders) and that 17 per cent of the residents were from other departments (primarily highlanders), but it should be emphasized that the rates of migration are far from equal. The lowland migrants have been moving into the city of Santa Cruz over several decades, and to a lesser extent since the city's founding.

The advent of intensive immigration to the lowlands by people from the interior, however, is a recent phenomenon. Most Cruceños place the commencement of large flows of highland migrants into the area at about 1969, coincident with the cotton boom. Since that time the number of highlanders in the city of Santa Cruz has continued to multiply rapidly. Thus the 1968 percentages of highland/lowland migrants are probably not representative of the current status of migration rates. Also, a period of seven years has elapsed since the results of the housing study were tabulated, and several planners at Obras Públicas believe that the highland migrant sector of the city may be reaching 30 per cent, and that this figure now greatly exceeds that of the lowland migrants residing in the city.

It may be, then, that simple housing pressures are creating the notable population and dwelling unit densities in the highland migrant zones. There is land available farther from the city which either may be purchased or illegally invaded, but not many highlanders seem to be taking over vacant property in these areas. It should be remembered that outlying land has no access to potable water, or any water for that matter, electricity, and most important, bus service to places of employment.

Even with the housing crunch being experienced in the highland migrant barrios, lowlanders are reluctant to take part in the thriving rental business. Although most individuals from the interior expressed a preference to live among fellow highlanders, it could be expected that additional available shelter in a lowland sector would not go begging. If Cambas suddenly were to embark upon construction of rental units in their neighborhoods, it is a reasonable assumption that most would profit from the venture. However, there are two intervening factors which, at least to date, have inhibited the entrance of lowlanders into the rental market. First, lowlanders do not want to live with people from the interior and generally have a greater animosity toward highlanders than the latter have toward Cambas. Second, lowlanders do not conceive of their homes primarily as a source of income. A small store may occupy a front room, but once again it is uncharacteristic of the Camba to threaten the sanctity of his home by allowing strangers to reside there, let alone highlanders.

On the other hand, entrepreneurship and commercial enterprise are very much a part of the highland migrant experience in Santa Cruz. As stated earlier, the majority of those migrating from the interior to the city of Santa Cruz are not rural folk. They may have originated from a small agricultural community, but long

since had traded that existence for urban life in one of Bolivia's highland cities before migrating to Santa Cruz. In many ways these migrants are similar to the Peruvian criollo/cholo described by Ozzie Simmons. According to Simmons, "The term cholo is reserved for those 'Indians' who are rapidly acculturating to the mestizo culture group but have not yet 'arrived.' A cholo may be classified as more or less criollo, depending on the degree of his orientation to the criollo outlook." This criollo outlook is characterized by "shrewdness, ingenuity, guilefulness, and the ability to be very good at verbal persuasion" (Simmons 1955:108-111). Simmons also notes that the criollo businessman is always on the lookout for a better way to turn a quick profit, and will stop at little to achieve this end. Many of the highlanders arriving in the city of Santa Cruz appear to exhibit the same propensity for shrewd business dealings as the Peruvian criollo. Lowlanders often relate the tale of the little highland woman sitting on a street corner selling oranges who, after ten years of manipulating her income, bought several new cargo trucks and opened her own transport company. Although these rags-to-riches stories are well publicized, in reality such occurrences are rare. Even so, it has become an integral part of highland migrant existence to approach any situation as a potential business opportunity. Thus rental housing is simply

another way to expand one's earning capacity. To the highlander, then, a piece of property in the city of Santa Cruz has negotiable value, and is not necessarily perceived in terms of its intrinsic worth as a sacrosanct place of habitation.

As an outgrowth of the rental/nonrental dichotomy existing between highland and Camba barrios, stabilization of the two migrant zones is proceeding at an unequal rate. Because most properties in the lowland sectors do not have to go through the rental transition, permanent structures are erected at an earlier date on many lots. In comparing one highland barrio with a lowland settlement area of approximately the same age, more masonry homes were in evidence in the Camba neighborhood. Informants in both areas did not demonstrate any appreciable difference in levels of income which might account for earlier stabilization in the lowland area.

Finally, the highland barrio remains distinct from its lowland counterpart in one additional aspect-- the presence of the chichería. The drinking of corn beer, or chicha, is an important tradition among rural, as well as lower- and some middle-income urban highlanders. Although Cambas will admit to liking chicha, they do not know how to prepare it,\* and do not patronize the

---

\*Lowlanders prepare a nonalcoholic chicha made from boiled corn meal, sugar and flavoring, but it is

establishments where it is served, the chicherfas. The chicherfa remains a stronghold of highland culture; it is where Quechua and Aymara may be spoken freely, where highland music is enjoyed, and where traditional dancing occurs. Rowdiness and violence along with gaiety and song often characterize the business hours of the chicherfa--hours which conform only to the whims of the patrons but which reach maximum popularity on Saturday and Sunday nights. Although the Camba certainly are not parlor-sitters when it comes to drinking, they complain bitterly about the raucous behavior of highlanders in their chicherfas. In many Camba neighborhoods, the informal negative sanctions against chicherías are so strong that local police officials are instructed to put pressure on any individual attempting to open an establishment to cater to the few highland residents there. Perhaps because Cruceños are excluded by their own prejudices as well as by highland censure from participation in beer festivities, the chichería has taken on almost satanic dimensions. After the owner of an uncompleted structure intended for chicha sale died without beneficiary, the city fathers expropriated the building and posted this sign.

---

a rare Camba who is familiar with the three-day-long procedure of making alcoholic chicha.

Este local antes fue una chichería. Ahora será una escuela, dentro de la campaña de moralización emprendida por la H. Alcaldía Municipal. Desde hoy este local cumplirá una función altamente social. (signed) Intendencia.

(This site previously was a chichería. Now it will be a school, as part of the moralization campaign undertaken by the Honorable City Hall. From today on this expropriated site will fulfill a highly social function. [signed] Police Department.)

As a backlash of the vitriolic criticism levied against chicherías by Cruceñans, many highlanders are beginning to question the validity of this institution within their new cultural context. Much of this debate is being advanced by the women, many of whom resent the weekly spending by husbands in the neighborhood chichería. One woman referring to her spouse, who was still unconscious from a previous night's drinking bout, stated in disgust, "Los hombres son unos chulupis; no sirven para más que tomar chicha. Las mujeres son las que tienen que trabajar." ("Men are cockroaches; they aren't any good except for drinking chicha. Women are the ones who have to work.")

The negative sanctions directed toward chicherías by the Cruceñan community and by increasing numbers of highland migrants have resulted in certain design modifications of the highland prototype. This, however, is true only of the chicherías within the city of Santa Cruz. In outlying areas the social pressures and official



harassment are not so great, and the traditional building style has prevailed. In the highlands, there is no attempt to conceal the chichería. The drinking areas are built facing the street, with the family living areas located above, or to the rear of the property. Efforts are made in Santa Cruz to hide the existence of a chichería, but they are usually unsuccessful. In many instances, the concealment only serves to attract more attention to the establishment. Most Cruceñan chicherías have the appearance of a fortress, with an abnormally high masonry wall and the tell-tale wide wooden door at the entrance. No simple homeowner would go to quite such elaborate efforts to protect his privacy, and it is not common to use a solid wooden door as an entryway. An iron gate is the preferred closure. The wide wooden door at the chichería entrance marks not only the desire to keep out prying eyes, but also is the result of the necessity to admit truckloads of firewood and the huge casks used to store the brew. In spite of its present tribulations, the chichería continues to thrive in Santa Cruz, and probably will as long as there are highlanders to sing, dance and drink chicha.

In review, the major differences between highland and lowland settlement areas are as follows:

1. Highland zones are characterized by greater numbers of lámina houses along with the

appearance of some adobe brick constructions.

The more prevalent type of impermanent dwelling in lowland migrant districts is the mud-and-wattle type.

2. Two-story masonry structures appear in highland neighborhoods but are rare in Camba barrios.
3. Multi-family dwellings and multi-unit constructions are characteristic of primarily the highland zones.
4. Highland migrant areas generally present higher population densities and greater numbers of dwellings per lot.
5. Camba migrant barrios exhibit a tendency toward faster stabilization.
6. The chichería is characteristic of the highland neighborhoods and is actively excluded from lowland barrios.

Although the settlement characteristics of lowland migrants are only tangential to this study, they have performed an important function in providing comparative insights into the nature of the processes involved in the settlement patterning of highland migrant districts. For example, the similarities evident between the two groups probably are indicative of either the urban environmental demands on each, or the existence of parallel

cultural traits which have proven adaptive to the migrant situation. On the other hand, the differences are most likely the result of divergent cultural traditions and point out the persistence of social custom even under conditions of great change.

Due to the demands of the urban environment, the development of both migrant districts has not been one of random growth or a duplication of traditional patterns of settlement. Rather, it has exhibited a structural relationship to the urban center where the barrios are located, the city of Santa Cruz. The physical orientation of Santa Cruz with reference to highland centers (west), foreign ports (east and south), and agricultural zones (north) has led to a polarization of migrant zones within the city. Though proclivities toward ethnic segregation have perpetuated this separation, its origins lie within the structure of the city itself. Thus the location of both migrant sectors derives from the entry point of major transportation routes, and settlement has concentrated in those areas contiguous to highways and railroads. In addition, the radial progression of urban expansion is reflected in the growth patterns of the migrant neighborhood. Once again settlement is not haphazard but conforms to the developmental trends of the city. As with the larger urban model, there is a general avoidance of "leap-frogging" in the migrant barrios and

growth and stabilization move progressively along a time/space continuum.

Institutions such as the patron-client relationship and compadrazgo are outgrowths of economically heterogeneous neighborhoods but have parallel precedents in both highland and lowland society. However, these traditions are not simply cultural survivals; they also have adaptive significance in the lowland setting. In a settlement situation fraught with instability and insecurity, the establishment of reciprocal relationships on equal and unequal levels provides a means by which perceived personal jeopardy is reduced. Both lower and upper income migrants are members of a network of fictive kin ties and patron-client relationships which when operationalized provide some measure of emotional and financial reinforcement.

Still, according to the principle of cultural stabilization formulated by Thomas G. Harding, "cultures tend to persist unchanged, and under the influence of external factors act to maintain their basic structure through adaptive modification" (Harding 1970:59). It is in the light of this principle that differences between the migrant districts may be explained. Thus variations in housing styles are attributable to divergent cultural traditions, but highlanders have had to modify their homes somewhat to conform to the lowland environment.

Dwelling unit composition and density preferences may also be the result of the continuity of the cultural content that each group brings to the migrant barrio. Finally, the prevalence of the chichería, but again with modifications in its structural layout, is the direct consequence of cultural persistence.

It may be said, then, that in the case of both highland and lowland migrant barrios, certain settlement patterns have been imposed by the overriding demands of the urban environment of Santa Cruz. At the same time, each migrant district exhibits distinct cultural traditions which have persisted in spite of the discontinuities inherent to the migrant experience. Or, as Harding has stated, "When acted upon by external forces a culture will, if necessary, undergo specific changes only to the extent of and with the effect of preserving unchanged its fundamental structure and character" (Harding 1970:54).

#### The Highland Migrant in the City of Santa Cruz

In order to ascertain the characteristics of highland migrants coming into the city of Santa Cruz, interviews were conducted in every highland barrio. A total of 66 informants was questioned in the five neighborhoods with the following breakdown by barrio:

Table 1  
Location of Informants

Barrio	Absolute Frequency	Relative Frequency (%)
4 de Noviembre	17	25.8
Villa San Luís	17	25.8
Santa Rosa	14	21.2
Alto San Pedro	13	19.7
Villa Santa Rosita	<u>5</u>	<u>7.6</u>
Total	66	100.0

A time limit of four months was allotted to this portion of the study, and since there are no recent census data available to determine the population size of any one barrio, the above figures are representative only of the numbers of interviews it was possible to conduct in that period of time. However, subjective decisions were made regarding the comparative settlement density and population size of each neighborhood. As a result, a greater number of interviews was completed in the larger barrios than in those with a seemingly smaller number of inhabitants. Thus the migrant neighborhood Villa Santa Rosita, which consists of only four square blocks, received much less attention than Villa San Luís which covers an area of well over two-kilometers square.

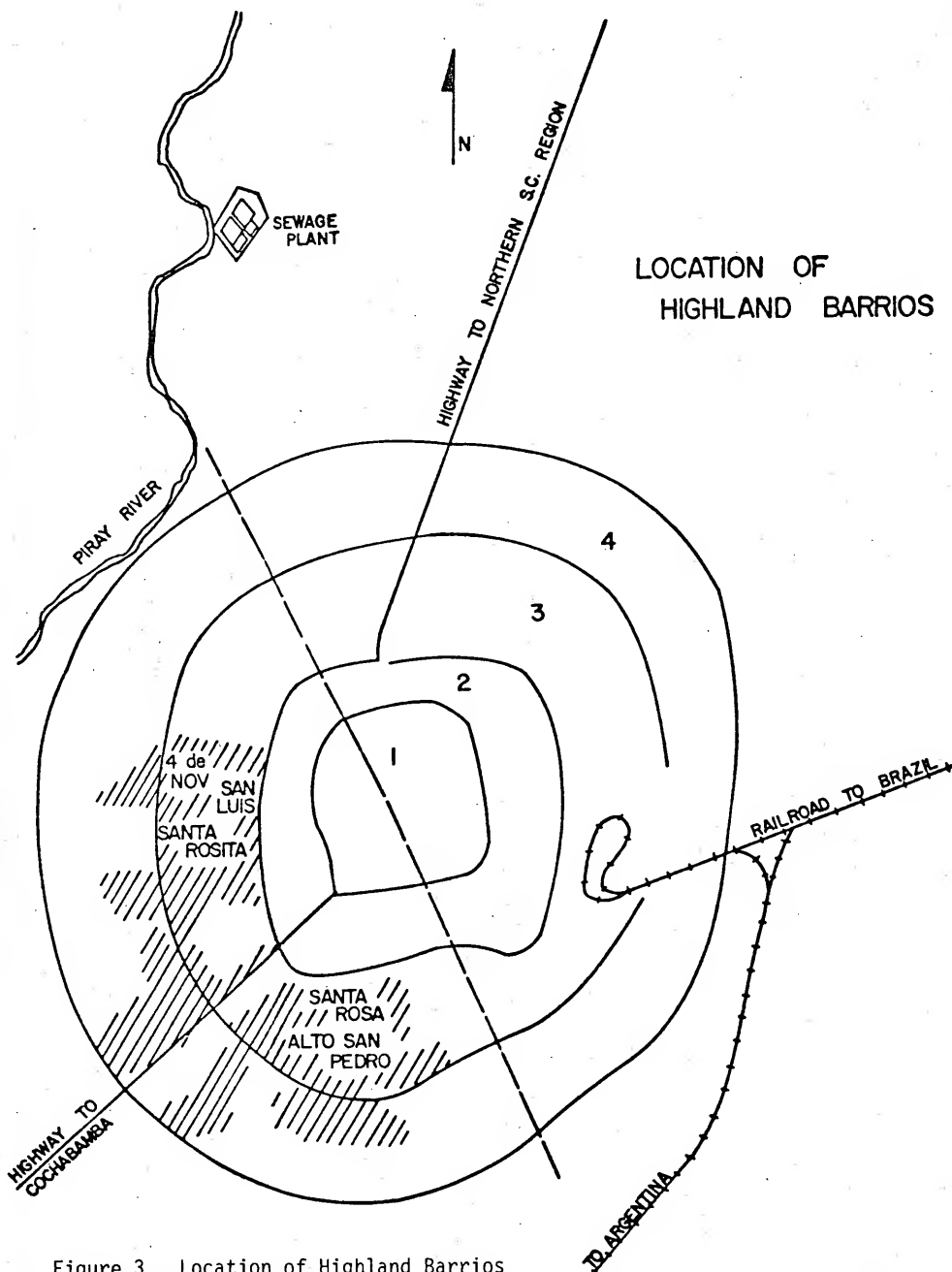


Figure 3. Location of Highland Barrios

No attempt was made to control the sample statistically; once in the field, it became apparent that such a procedure was unfeasible due to time limitations as well as to the variability of informants' schedules. The investigator was concerned primarily with successfully obtaining a wide range of data regarding migration trends rather than adhering to rigid statistical sampling methods. Informants were selected to include residents of both permanent as well as temporary dwelling types, and those migrants who live at varying distances from the nucleus of Santa Cruz.

Interviewing involved the use of an interview guide which was developed in the field after several initial sessions with informants. The guide was used as a means of structuring each interview to provide for comparability of data. Nevertheless, if an informant deviated from the original format, he or she was permitted to follow the line of discussion to its conclusion. A great deal of information pertinent to the study was often elicited spontaneously as a result of this technique.

It is also notable that a preponderance of females served as informants. Because interviews were conducted during the daytime, most of the resident males were at work elsewhere in the city. The individuals at home at this time were females and children. The fact



that the researcher is also a female no doubt was of considerable consequence in gaining entry to many of the migrant homes. Most of the women interviewed were initially hesitant to admit a strange female into their houses, but once some preliminary conversation ensued, the suspicion gave way to open friendliness. Later exchange with a male engaged in research in the same area revealed that he was not so fortunate in being received into homes where only females and children were present.

The situation illustrates an important point. In Bolivia, as in other parts of the world, it is difficult for a woman to gain access to a man's realm and vice-versa. Consequently, the great bulk of field data which has been gathered by social scientists, who are predominantly male, tends to be male-dominated and male-oriented. While this in itself does not justify the failure to obtain a perfectly balanced sample, it does elucidate the problems of sexual bias inherent to any type of social research. Thus, as male researchers and male informants have proffered their observations of social content as valid criteria for comprehensive analysis, the female point of view will dictate many of the results of the present study.

Migration to lowland Bolivia is unique in that it has dichotomized into rural and urban flows which have tended to remain discreet units. Both groups of

migrants have chosen different destinations in the lowlands, with the result that the city of Santa Cruz has attracted the urban-oriented individual while the rural migrant has headed into the northern Santa Cruz area. Santa Cruz is a focal point for rural-urban migration among Cambas, however. Thus the majority of highlanders in the city are not rural folk, or if their origins are rural they have had previous exposure to an urban center in the interior before moving to the lowland capital. Of the informants in the sample population, only seven, or about 10 percent of the total, come directly from a rural highland situation. On the other hand, almost 82 percent of the migrants interviewed have either urban origins or have had urban experience prior to their taking up residence in Santa Cruz. Five informants are

Table 2  
Migrant Origins

Origin	Absolute Frequency	Relative Frequency (%)
Urban	66	57.6
Rural to Urban Highland	16	24.4
Road Town (Santa Cruz- Cochabamba highway)	5	7.6
Rural	<u>7</u>	<u>10.6</u>
Total	66	100.0

from road towns, semirural communities located along the Santa Cruz-Cochabamba highway. These localities present a special case in that they are secondary and tertiary marketing centers, but the economic base remains primarily agricultural in nature. More importantly, contact with other urban centers, via the highway, is an influential factor in community organization. Road town residents are rural as well as urban in their orientations. Hence, these five informants must remain in a fourth category of migrants.

The reasons for the rural-urban settlement dichotomy in Santa Cruz are several and will be discussed at varying points in the study. With regard to the city of Santa Cruz, the urbanites from the highlands are presented with no great obstacles to successful settlement. For the rural migrant, the city offers no great attraction. Part of the lack of interest in migrating to urban Santa Cruz derives from the relative ease with which a rural person may obtain land in the lowlands. Thus the rural highlander is more likely to opt for the familiarity of an agricultural setting if it offers a viable alternative to city life. Those migrants who ultimately seek to leave the lowland countryside in favor of urban residence do not choose Santa Cruz, however. Their affinities lie with family members and other rural migrants who have made Montero the focus

for rural-urban migrations of highlanders in the lowland region.

Other than having predominantly urban origins, the Santa Cruz migrant sample population also tends to be young. The mean age of the sample group is 31. Seventy-three per cent of the informants fall between the ages of 18 and 35 while 4 per cent are below 18. Twenty-three per cent are over the age of 35. When a cross-tabulation between age and length of residence in Santa Cruz was run, it was discovered that not one older informant was within the middle ranges of residence length. Those in the upper range of ten or more years arrived at a much younger age, of course. Those who are within the lower ranges have only recently arrived in the lowlands. The implications would seem to be that it is very difficult for older migrants to adjust successfully to the stresses of the Santa Cruz urban environment and that they generally return to the interior after a trial period of about 2-3 years. This "weeding out" process may also be viewed as contributing to the youthful trend of the sample population.

Once in the lowlands, the desire to return to the interior seems to diminish rapidly. It was only the older, recently arrived migrants who expressed a longing for their mountain homes. Three of the five migrants who stated that they would like to return to the highlands

were over 40 years old. This finding also correlates perfectly with recent arrivals in Santa Cruz. In each case, the older migrant expressing dissatisfaction with lowland life had been there for less than two years.

For many migrants, arrival in the city of Santa Cruz is only one of a series of successive moves and may in turn represent a temporary site of habitation. More than half of the informants in migrant barrios reported previous migrations prior to the move to Santa Cruz. For some, movement from place to place is considered an unacceptable lifestyle, but one which becomes necessary as the result of economic pressures. Many, however, expressed no concern with their itinerant behavior and perceived continuous migration as a means of optimizing available resources. When a new opportunity arises in another locality, the migrant unit simply packs up its belongings and moves on. Property and other immovables are disposed of, or in many cases, retained as additional sources of income.

Table 3  
Santa Cruz as First Migration

	Absolute Frequency	Relative Frequency (%)
Yes	32	48.5
No	<u>34</u>	<u>51.5</u>
Total	66	100.0

Chain migration is an important factor in population movement into the Department of Santa Cruz as would be expected in any case where migration has continued over an extended period of time. A significant number of migrants, nevertheless, make the move without the assistance of friends or relatives. One-third of the sample reported that their first place of residence in Santa Cruz was a rented room, hotel, or a rented house, and that these accommodations were necessary because of a lack of known kin or other supportative networks in the region.

Table 4  
First Place of Residence

	Absolute Frequency	Relative Frequency (%)
Relatives	24	36.4
Fictive Kin	1	1.5
Friend/Employer	14	21.2
Room	7	10.6
Rental	15	22.7
No Data	<u>5</u>	<u>7.6</u>
Total	66	100.0

It is also interesting that the Department of Cochabamba, the nearest highland neighbor of Santa Cruz, supplied over half of the sample immigrant population. Another 16.7 per cent originated in the Sucre area, also relatively close to the city of Santa Cruz. The more distant highland centers of La Paz, Oruro and Potosí together furnished only 15 per cent of the migrants. The remaining 12 per cent were from other areas such as Tarija and Vallegrande, middle altitude regions which cannot be considered actual highland culture centers. The city of Cochabamba serves an important function as the highland jumping-off place for migrants progressing through a series of step migrations culminating in the move to Santa Cruz.

Table 5  
Place of Origin  
(Department or Region)

Origin	Absolute Frequency	Relative Frequency (%)
La Paz	3	4.5
Cochabamba	37	56.1
Sucre	11	16.7
Potosí	3	4.5
Oruro	4	6.1
Other	<u>8</u>	<u>12.1</u>
Total	66	100.0

Excluding those 15 residents whose place of birth is Cochabamba, 19 out of 41 migrants entered the lowlands after a previous period of habitation in Cochabamba. If the natives of Cochabamba are included with this group, over half of the sample previously has lived in the city of Cochabamba. Beyond the fact that Cochabamba is located at the distal end of the highway into the lowlands, the city has become the point of exit from the interior for many migrants because it represents the last rung on the highland ladder of opportunity. After unsuccessful attempts to attain economic security in other highland urban centers, migrants will try Cochabamba as a next-to-last resort. Second only to Santa Cruz, Cochabamba has the highest per capita income among workers in Bolivia (Reye 1974:20). However, it is incapable of absorbing the large numbers of people

Table 6

Residence in Cochabamba (City)  
Prior to Santa Cruz Migration

	Absolute Frequency	Relative Frequency (%)
Yes	19	28.8
No	32	48.5
Origin Cochabamba	<u>15</u>	<u>22.7</u>
Total	66	100.0



who are seeking employment there. Though some migrants from other highland regions may find job opportunities in Cochabamba, many more are not so fortunate. The city therefore becomes a funnel for migrants whose only remaining feasible alternative is a move to Santa Cruz.

Table 7.  
Worker Annual Income (1971)  
(in pesos Bolivianos)

Department	Income
Santa Cruz	9.119
Cochabamba	5.662
Oruro	5.594
La Paz	4.870
Potosí	4.427
Tarija	3.799
Pando	3.510
Chuquisaca (Sucre)	3.339
Beni	2.829

Source: Reye 1974:20

Commercial activities by far outweighed other occupational specialties of the female informants. Twenty-nine of the fifty-one women interviewed listed

marketing or related activities as their principal source of income. Among highlanders, it has become a tradition for women to engage in much of the marketing activity. The market itself is an integral part of highland life, with certain days of each week set aside at particular localities for buying and selling. For lowland inhabitants, however, markets are a somewhat alien experience. This is not to say that the area has been entirely devoid of markets, but until the region began to witness a substantial increase in highland entrepreneurs, the only open market places to be found in the Department of Santa Cruz were in the city itself. Other communities have continued to depend in large part on small household stores, the pulperías, for their source of food-stuffs and merchandise.

The marketing system in the lowlands differs qualitatively from the highland system of produce exchange in that goods are carried into Santa Cruz by men and wholesaled to vendors who in turn do the reselling. In the highlands this may also be the case, but it is just as common for females to grow, transport and market their own produce, giving up little profit to a middleman. At the same time, until the advent of highland migration, there were no special market days in Santa Cruz, or "ferias," as these temporal markets are known in the interior. The two main markets in Santa Cruz,

Los Pozos and El Mercado Nuevo, operated continually during the week and on Saturday with only a few vendors engaging in commerce on Sunday. As a result of the arrival of highlanders, Santa Cruz now boasts its first feria, open on Wednesdays and Sundays. Even the word feria, previously reserved for highland usage, has become a part of the lowland dialect. Commercial activity on Sundays may also be viewed as a highland introduction. The custom of Sunday market, so popular in the highlands, has had an enthusiastic reception in the lowlands as well. Whereas Sunday was never considered by Cambas to be a big market day, most lowland women now eagerly board buses and taxis to shop on that day. Along with the feria, Los Pozos and other markets do their best business on Sundays. In addition, three streets near the second anillo are closed to traffic on this day, and the area is converted into a huge shopping mall. A multitude of cargo trucks from Cochabamba and other highland areas arrive in Santa Cruz every Saturday night. By dawn the next morning they are parked in streets by the downtown markets and throughout the area closed to vehicular traffic. Fresh produce, fish from highland streams, dried llama meat and mutton, herbs, and medicinal cures are all dispensed from the beds of trucks to the throng of Sunday shoppers.

Highlander success in marketing may be attributed firstly to the preference of these people, especially women, to pursue commercial activity. But at the same time, the highland market vendors have been able to move into a relatively unoccupied economic niche. Even in the city of Santa Cruz where the open market has been in existence for some time, going to the market was not a daily or even weekly occurrence among Camba women. It has always been more prevalent to patronize the neighborhood pulperia where credit buying could be done. Pulperia owners traditionally have done business with the markets since they are the source of wholesale items, but until quite recently the average Cruceñan homemaker stocked her kitchen from the neighborhood food store, not from the market. The arrival of highlanders in the city has brought about the introduction of a small amount of bargaining in markets, along with more competitive prices, and many Camba women now feel that they can save money by going to a market when cash buying is done. Also, highlanders have initiated the daily shipment of fresh vegetables and other produce from highland truck gardening centers. Although the Camba diet has never included many items such as lettuce, tomatoes, carrots, bell peppers, cucumbers, radishes, and green beans, the exclusion of these foods was due to lack of availability, not to lack of acceptance for these products. Highlanders

have begun transporting fresh produce on a large scale, and lowlanders as well as the migrant population from the interior flock to the markets to buy it.

Lowland vendors in the Santa Cruz markets are now few in number, and their puestos (stalls) have been taken over by the more astute highland entrepreneur. It is only in the area of lowland production such as beef, manioc and bananas that the Camba has continued to prevail. Every other type of merchandising is now controlled by highlanders. Even the transport industry into the lowlands and within the Camba region is largely dominated by truckers from the interior.

The marketing idea has begun to diffuse as a consequence of highland occupation of the Cruceñan lowlands. Warnes, a community just north of Santa Cruz, now has two small open markets, also run by highlanders. Montero has one very large market, on a par with any in the city of Santa Cruz, and a second smaller market has recently been constructed in another section of the city. Most interesting is the case of San Carlos, an old Camba village some 85 kilometers north of Santa Cruz. Although a few highland families have begun to move into town, and vendors come in from the nearby agricultural colonies to sell small amounts of produce, one could not say that highlanders have made any great impact on the community as yet. Even so, in a recent communication from a

Sancarleña, it was reported that funds have been collected from the townspeople and matched by Obras Públicas to build the first open market in San Carlos (personal communication from Margarita León, March 1976). There can be no doubt that the villagers have witnessed the success of markets in other lowland communities and are eager to participate in the activity. There also can be no doubt that within two to three years after the market in San Carlos has been in operation, highlanders will have taken control of the enterprise.

Table 8  
Occupations of Female Informants

Occupation	Absolute Frequency	Relative Frequency (%)
Commercial Activity	29	43.9
Home Employment	12	25.8
Servant	1	1.5
None	<u>9</u>	<u>13.6</u>
Total	51	100.0

Male informants generally fell into two occupational categories: mason (albañil) and home employment. The latter includes such specialties as ceramic work and the preparation of food additives and condiments.

Table 9  
Occupations of Male Informants

Occupation	Absolute Frequency	Relative Frequency (%)
Abañil	5	33.3
Home Employment	5	33.3
Transport	1	6.7
Industry	1	6.7
Other	<u>3</u>	<u>20.0</u>
Total	15	100.0

When female informants were asked about the occupation of their spouses, 23 replied that their husbands were employed as albañiles. Thus, 49 per cent of the males who enter into the survey are employed in the construction industry. Although the literal translation of "albañil" is "mason," the term has become a generic one for anyone employed in the building trades. Hence, a man who loads and unloads bricks at a construction site will consider himself an albañil just as will a master brick layer.

The boom economy of Santa Cruz has brought about the rapid increase of building starts in the city. It is the flourishing construction industry which has allowed for the urban absorption of highland as well as lowland

male migrants. Without this source of employment, the majority of migrant men would find themselves back on the road in search of some new opportunity.

Table 10  
Occupations of Spouses (No. & %)

Occupation	Female	Male	Column Totals
Commercial Activity	4 36.4	7 63.6	11 16.7
Home Employment	3 75.0	1 25.0	4 6.1
Servant	1 100.0	0 0.0	1 1.5
Albañil	0 0.0	23 100.0	23 34.8
Transport	0 0.0	5 100.0	5 7.6
Industry	0 0.0	4 100.0	4 6.1
Other	0 0.0	2 100.0	2 3.0
None	2 100.0	0 0.0	2 3.0
Unmarried	5 35.7	0 64.9	14 21.2
Total			66 100.0



Another area of investigation concerned dress patterns of migrants. All males in the sample make use of mestizo apparel, consisting of cotton pants and shirt, generally produced commercially. The females wear either the traditional pollera, a wide gathered skirt with a tie band, or mestizo clothing such as a straight skirt and blouse or a cotton dress. The preference of mestizo wear as opposed to traditional garb does not correlate\* with length of residence in the lowlands as might be expected. Some women mentioned that their Santa Cruz-born children are exerting pressure on them to discard the pollera and use mestizo wear. But most still use the pollera after more than ten years' residence in the lowlands and stated that they continue the traditional pattern because they feel more comfortable and are concerned

Table 11  
Dress Style

	Absolute Frequency	Relative Frequency (%)
Traditional	32	48.5
Mestizo	<u>34</u>	<u>51.5</u>
Total	66	100.0

\*Significance = 0.0437; Cramer's V = 0.41593.

about their neighbors' criticisms of trying to "put on airs." More than two-thirds of the females interviewed wear a pollera.

One woman views the dress controversy in economic terms. She explained that it is good business to continue wearing the pollera especially at the market or while selling so as not to alienate much of the migrant population. Potential Camba clients expect to see highland women in their polleras--conforming to the lowlander's stereotype of the Kolla. The female informant also related the tale of two highland women who had stores next to each other. One of the store owners began to use mestizo dress. Soon the woman's business began to drop off until the majority of her customers were patronizing her neighbor. The errant highlander was forced to reinstate the pollera in order to salvage her store.

With regard to illiteracy rates, the sample population would seem to fall within national averages. The 1950 census showed 67.9 per cent of the adult population to be illiterate. Unpublished 1963 survey sample data of the Dirección General de Estadística y Censos listed 47 per cent of the Bolivian population as illiterate (Chirikos *et al.* 1971:246). The Santa Cruz migrant sample collected by this researcher exhibited at 59.1 per cent rate of illiteracy.

Also in keeping with national trends is a much higher rate of illiteracy among migrant women as compared to men, a result of differential access to schooling based on sex. Cross-tabulations run between indigenous language use and illiteracy revealed that there is a strong correlation\* between the two. Those individuals whose command of Spanish was negligible or limited have a much higher illiteracy rate than those who have a functional use of Spanish. This is most likely a reflection of a greater incidence of illiteracy among rural-born people as well as females who do not have equal educational opportunities,

Table 12  
Illiteracy (No. & %)

	Literate	Illiterate	Total
Male	10 75.0	5 25.0	15 100.0
Female	17 <u>33.4</u>	34 <u>66.6</u>	51 <u>100.0</u>
Total	27 40.9	39 59.1	66 100.0

\*Significance = 0.0000; Cramer's V = 0.59841.

and the inability of many students to learn literacy skills in a foreign language, namely Spanish. Somewhat unexpected is the lack of correlation\* between extended lowland residence and a better command of Spanish. Although there is a general trend toward the augmented use of Spanish as length of habitation in Santa Cruz increases, there remained numerous individuals who have been in the lowlands for ten or more years and who continue to be monolingual speakers of an indigenous language, usually Quechua. Many others have only limited ability in Spanish. This may be the result of the present lack of integration between the highland and lowland populations of the city. Highlanders live in relative isolation in their own barrios where Quechua is heard more often than Spanish. Even outside of the barrio, only a minimal amount of Spanish is needed to engage in trade.

The children of migrants who are attending Santa Cruz schools are striving toward bilingualism and, in many cases, monolingual use of Spanish. Forty-one of the 66 informants have offspring, and a very large majority of these have children who claim they are unable to speak the indigenous language of their parents. Many immigrants stated that their sons and daughters can

---

\*Significance = 0.3500; Cramer's V = 0.28862.

understand Quechua but refuse to speak it. Parents of these children believe that peer pressure by Camba playmates at school inhibits their offspring from using the language spoken in the home. Some informants are resentful of the situation, but most seemed pleased that their children are choosing the lowland lifestyle, thereby hastening the assimilation of the younger generation of highland migrants.

The reasons given for migration to Santa Cruz fell into six categories which are listed below with the number of responses for each. As the table shows, economic incentives account for over half of the total sample population and although other motives may have been offered, in many cases they too are ultimately

Table 13  
Motives for Migration

Motive	Absolute Frequency	Relative Frequency (%)
To Find Work	36	54.6
To Accompany Spouse	2	3.0
To Accompany Relative	11	16.7
Runaway	3	4.5
Contracted to Work	5	7.6
Contracted to Work Harvest	6	9.1
Visiting	3	4.5
Total	66	100.0

related to some economic purpose. For example, 13 informants stated that they came to the lowlands to accompany a spouse, parents, or other relatives. The spouse or parents, however, were often lured to Santa Cruz by the promise of economic gain. Another 11 informants came to the lowlands as contract workers, either as harvesters or as employees of private individuals. In essence, the only categories which cannot be linked with economic interest are "runaway" and "visiting," and the latter category is suspect in that all three informants admitted that while they were in Santa Cruz visiting relatives, they had taken advantage of the time to look for employment. For the case of Santa Cruz at least, it would appear that economic incentives are foremost in the decision to migrate from the interior. During one interview, when queried as to why she had left the highlands, a young informant could only reply with a look of amused disbelief. The implication of her response was that the reason should be obvious. Finally in exasperation she said, "Para ganar, pue!" (To earn money, of course!).

As might be anticipated in a situation of constant flux such as is found in the migrant barrios of Santa Cruz, those among the sample population who own homes run only somewhat above those who are renting. Another segment of the sample, approximately 20 per cent,

Table 14  
Housing

	Absolute Frequency	Relative Frequency (%)
Own	27	40.9
Rent	26	39.4
Live with Relative	<u>13</u>	<u>19.7</u>
Total	66	100.0

lives with other family members. There is a strong correlation\* between length of residence and home ownership, with residents who have been in Santa Cruz for a longer period of time tending to own their homes. This finding would also have been expected as very few migrants arrive in the lowlands with sufficient capital to allow for the immediate purchase of a home or a building site. It was found that most of the migrants questioned did not own homes until after the fourth or fifth year of residence in the city.

Another interesting statistic which emerges from the data gathered is the ratio of prior contact with the lowlands to that of no previous knowledge of the area.

---

\*Significance = 0.0010; Cramer's V = 0.47255.

Over 59 per cent of the sample population had never been to Santa Cruz before deciding to migrate. Still, a large segment of the migrants reported prior acquaintance with the region. Several of the male informants as well as spouses of female migrants claim military service in the lowlands as the reason for initial contact. Others had come on marketing trips and a small number had worked the harvests. Although migrants with previous knowledge of the area stated that familiarity with Santa Cruz made the decision to leave the highlands much easier, it is noteworthy that over half of the sample made the trip blindly or with second-hand information at best.

Table 15  
Previous Knowledge of Santa Cruz

	Absolute Frequency	Relative Frequency (%)
Yes	24	36.4
No	39	59.1
Arrived as a child	<u>3</u>	<u>4.5</u>
Total	66	100.0

Finally, two-thirds of the informants stated that they have relatives in other areas of the lowlands.



While these kin may be distant in degree as well as location, migrants seem to concern themselves with keeping track of as many relations as possible. They know that as city residents they may be called upon to provide shelter for a variety of visiting uncles, cousins, or fictive kin from the hinterlands of Santa Cruz. At the same time, country kin can provide work as well as diversion for the city-bound children of Santa Cruz migrants. Then too, many city migrants will often send out to the countryside a prospective migrant in search of farm labor or a piece of land. Migrant networks are a functional part of lowland adaptation; they become survival mechanisms in an unstable and insecure environment. Even the most casual acquaintance is carefully nurtured for possible future utilization.

The migrants who reside in the city of Santa Cruz represent only part of the flow of highlanders into the lowlands. The remainder pass briefly through the city on their way to points north. The northern Santa Cruz region is attracting primarily rural agriculturalists as opposed to the urban-orientated migrants who are settling in the city of Santa Cruz. A small number of urban people are also heading north, however, following the harvesters, fieldhands, and farmers. They constitute another contingent of entrepreneurs, chancing their luck and shrewdness on the promise of profits in the not-so-competitive hinterlands to the north.

Highlanders are now flooding into the rich agricultural region of the humid alluvial basin of Santa Cruz. Although much formerly nonproductive land has been opened for cultivation bringing economic prosperity to the department, the Camba regards the intrusion by highlanders with increasing chagrin. Not only has the lowlander's virgin forest been swarmed over by ever-burgeoning numbers of highland farmers, but the Camba is also being out-farmed and out-traded by the more assiduous highlander. At the point where the northern highway leaves the city of Santa Cruz there is a huge stone statue of Christ, the Cristo Redentor. The arms are upraised with palms thrust outward, and Cruceños half-jokingly remark that the significance of this gesture is "Halt! No more Kollas!"

## CHAPTER FOUR

### WARNES: CANE, COTTON AND CONTRACT HARVESTING

The first town one reaches on the route north is Warnes, an agricultural community which has been caught up in the region's new dependence on migrant labor. Warnes is now in the process of learning to deal with its migrant population.

The economic boom of Santa Cruz more than any other single factor has encouraged the exodus of highlanders from the interior of Bolivia. Crop failures and economic stagnation certainly contribute to the desire to leave the highlands, but without some promise of a better life, it is probable that the urban poor as well as the peasant farmer would continue their marginal existence with stoic acceptance.

For many, however, the decision to move east is not an immediate one. Work opportunities in the lowland harvests become the gateway to Santa Cruz and at the same time provide a testing ground for those migrants not quite certain of the finality of the move. Among harvesters, the choice to remain in the lowlands may be made only after several years of seasonal migrations.

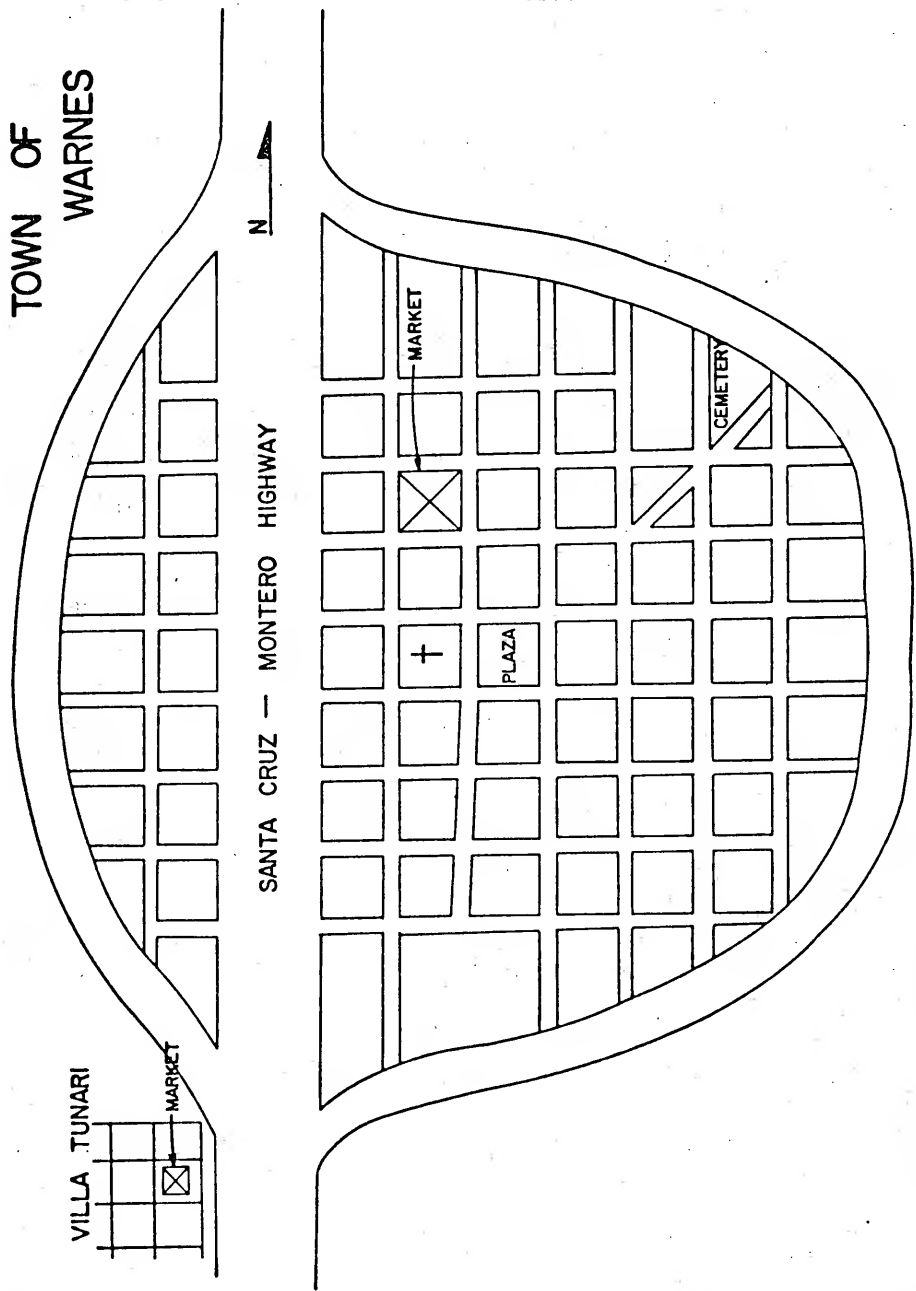


Figure 4. Town of Warnes

Others may decide to stay after their first trip down. Still others continue to come year after year with no intent of making a permanent move. But for all, the assurance of a contract for wages and the security of traveling in a group with one's family and friends make contract harvesting the least risky of the possible options for migration to the Department of Santa Cruz.

The role of the agricultural enterprise employing highland migrants on contract is an important one in the scheme of migration and population movement in the lowlands. It is during the harvest that the highlander will be faced with many of those factors which ultimately will enter into the decision of whether or not he or she returns to the interior. The varied experiences which accumulate during the three- to five-months' period of labor in Santa Cruz also have bearing on the lifestyle choices made by the prospective immigrant. For many migrants, harvesting is the springboard which launches them into a series of new and diverse strategies for lowland adaptation.

#### Farmers and Harvesters

The agricultural evolution of Santa Cruz has been witnessed by many towns and villages, but one in particular has experienced all the major crop transitions.

in recent history. The town of Warnes, named after the Independence War hero Ignacio Warnes, is located 30 kilometers north of the city of Santa Cruz. It lies in what began as rice country but which later progressed to sugarcane and finally, to cotton. Warnes is an old Camba agricultural community, with a population estimated at 3,000 and a slow growth rate of only 2.7 per cent, as compared to 6.2 per cent for the city of Santa Cruz (Reye 1974:107a). When the road north to Montero was paved, it bypassed the town, and Warnes was denied the chance to share in the prosperity brought by the highway. As a consequence of the road bypass, the town has begun to grow in the direction of the highway, and several shop owners have set up stores along the pavement to the west of Warnes. A new market has also been constructed in this area in the hope of attracting passing travelers. Still, the center of town remains quiet and dusty and quite unaffected by the movement of progress. There is a shady plaza, church, and a cluster of whitewashed houses with tile roofs. The older residents point proudly to sections of Warnes which are well over a century old and which have in that time remained virtually unchanged.

The outwardly quiet of the town belies the intense agricultural activity which engages many of the residents. Fortunes have been made on the land surrounding

this community, and fortunes continue to be made. Much of the profit flows into the coffers of the agribusinesses whose owners live in the large urban centers of the country or perhaps in other nations. The Warneño farmers who have done well by their land generally have not invested in their town. Instead, the money is put into homes and businesses in Santa Cruz, into farm equipment, or is simply salted away for a future occasion.

Warnes has weathered the vagaries of commercial agriculture in the region and has been agile in responding to market fluctuations. When mills began to go up in the surrounding areas, making sugarcane a highly marketable crop, the farmlands around Warnes were cleared and put to cane. Many of the early profits were funnelled back into farm machinery and trucks to carry the cane to the mills. Then blight and low prices threatened the prosperity of the growers. A substitute for cane was found in cotton, and a quick shift was made. But both crops demand hand labor for harvesting, and Santa Cruz has never been capable of meeting its own labor requirements. Most Cambas are themselves small farmers and have adequate acreage to satisfy their basic needs. They are not eager to leave their land to work as day laborers. On the other hand, the highlands have always seemed to possess an abundance of people who by necessity or desire are eager to take on any task for an average day's

wage. And by Bolivian standards, the wages paid for field work in Santa Cruz are much better than average. A strong male working as a field hand in the highlands can only hope to earn 30-40 pesos (US \$1.50-2.00) per day. The same individual can easily make 60-80 pesos (US \$3.00-4.00) per day harvesting cane or cotton in Santa Cruz. There is always work available, and the more adventure-some highlanders merely climb aboard a truck headed for the lowlands and make their way to some community such as Warnes where they are hired on the spot. Nevertheless, no small amount of chicanery has been perpetrated on highland harvesters, and many feel more secure of their income if they hire on as part of a formal group organized through a labor contractor, or contratista.

In order to bring people legally from the interior, a contratista must be registered by the Federación de Campesinos, a farm labor organization controlled by the national government. Clandestine labor operations are kept at a minimum through the maintenance of two gates along the Cochabamba-Santa Cruz highway at which all incoming trucks are inspected. The Federación also sends out representatives to individual cotton farms, ostensibly to ascertain if living conditions for workers are adequate. Actually, the investigator is more interested in finding out if the pickers are all members of the Federación (which collects a tax of 2 pesos



[US \$.10] per 100 pounds picked by each harvester) and if the contratista has registered properly with the organization. In addition, the Federación requires each grower to fill out a work sheet (planilla) listing by column the name of each picker, a few vital statistics such as age, sex, and place of origin, and the daily poundage harvested. Another column on the planilla represents the cash advances or food items taken on credit which will be deducted from the weekly wages. The last column on the sheet lists the net income of each worker. These planillas must be turned in to the Federación office in Montero at the end of harvest. The contratista is entitled to one peso (US \$.05) per 100 pounds picked by each harvester as his commission, but this fee must be paid by the grower and not by the field-hand. Unscrupulous contractors will attempt to collect from both.

Contratistas may be highlanders or Cambas. They are usually engaged by a grower who is in need of a certain number of harvesters. The contratista then goes into the highlands to find his labor. Some try the cities, but most search the countryside for people willing to come to the lowlands as fieldhands. After a group has been gathered, the members select a leader-- usually a young literate male who is believed to know the ins and outs of contract harvesting. Then the work

agreement is prepared in which the harvesters are guaranteed that they will be paid a certain price per 100 pounds of cotton picked, that they will have adequate living conditions, and that the grower will provide transportation to the nearest town for "Sundaying." The workers in turn must pledge to remain the duration of the harvest. Once the contract has been agreed upon by the laborers and the contratista, the latter rents a truck, and the harvesters are loaded aboard for the trip east.

Harvesters for sugarcane may be engaged in a similar manner, but not as many cutters are required for the cane crop as are pickers for cotton. Cane harvesters also tend to be a somewhat specialized group and do not represent a potential or actual drain on the labor pool needed for cotton harvesting. The greatest amount of competition for workers is among the cotton growers, not between the cane growers and cotton farmers. It is in reference to the labor needs of these two primary crops that part of the recent changes in migration rates and settlement trends may be understood.

The road from the highlands had been open since 1954, land was plentiful, and there was seasonal work available in the canefields and on the Algodonera cotton farm monopoly. Yet highlanders were leaving the interior at only moderate rates and were not particularly visible in the lowlands. Even government-subsidized colonization

projects were failing to attract the large numbers of highland Bolivians that had been expected. Then in 1969 the movement east gained momentum and highlanders began flowing into the Department of Santa Cruz. Why did this suddenly occur? Cotton. Carmelo Durán, a Warneño explains.

When the cane crop began to fail and prices were low\* a lot of us began to worry. But then the government abolished the Algodonera monopoly and everyone started planting cotton. It is primarily an export crop so we didn't need to worry about national markets so much. And European buyers were paying high prices for good quality, hand-picked cotton. I had been growing cane and still do, but not so much anymore. Cane does have the advantage that you don't need as many people to harvest it as cotton. With cane mostly men work, in groups of four to six, with perhaps one or two women to help husk it and do the cooking. But mostly men come for cane. These men seldom stay on because their families are in the interior. It isn't so much trouble finding enough cane harvesters. Also, if it takes a little longer than expected or something happens so that you can't get all the cane cut in time, the crop can just wait until next year. With cotton you only have a few weeks to get the crop in, then you lose it all. And you need a lot of people to harvest. But just about anyone can harvest cotton, it doesn't take a lot of strength. Women and children can often pick as much as a man. Now instead of just looking for men, I hire whole families.

---

\*When sugarcane production reached export levels, prices began to level off and then drop. Almost simultaneously, portions of fields became infected with blight. The adventitious appearance of cotton as an alternative crop and its high market value convinced many growers to shift to cotton cultivation.

Thus the advent of cotton farming not only increased the number of laborers needed for fieldwork, but it also diversified the labor pool. Now women, children, and the elderly could accompany young men into the low-lands, and once there the incentive to return to the high-lands was not so great. Entire nuclear families, extended kin, and village members could make the move simultaneously, without having to leave family members behind. But even more importantly, there was work available for anyone willing to go into the fields, and previously unproductive or underproductive persons could contribute substantially to family incomes.

The relationship established between the grower and his pickers harkens back to the old pre-Reform days of the patrón and his peones. Once on the farm, many harvesters become virtual prisoners until the harvest has ended. Only the fear of retaliation by the Federación keeps some growers from actual physical abuse of their farmhands. However, those cotton farmers who acquire a reputation for brutality and dishonesty often find themselves short of labor the following year. The "typical" grower simply treats his workers like any useful animals, providing for their minimal needs and showing little concern for their well-being. Melfy Moreno and her husband Luís operate a Warnes cotton farm but are far from typical in their dealings with

farmhands. Consequently they have earned the trust and respect of the inhabitants of a small village near Sucre, and these people return every year to work on the Moreno farm.

On their way to their farm, 30 kilometers east of Warnes, Melfy talked about the cotton business. She and her husband are both Warnes-born and had worked for the Algodonera for many years before converting some family land to cotton and trying it on their own. As Algodonera employees they both learned to speak Quechua, not fluently, but adequately for communication--something unheard of among Cambas. Melfy and Lufs have a certain sympathy for their highland workers, but they relate to the fieldhands from a consistent stance of paternalism. The Morenos feel highlanders are children and must be guided and cared for because they are incapable of caring for themselves. When hands fall ill, Melfy will administer medicines or prescribe a remedy. She also instructs her workers in the virtues of saving money and admonishes them to beware of dishonest contratistas.

The main encampment of the Moreno farm consists of a new brick house with one room for sleeping and another for storage, a pauhuichi where the overseer and his wife live, a thatched kitchen, and to the rear, the two galpões where the harvesters are housed. The galpões are built of wattle-and-daub with palm thatched

roofs. They are approximately 20 meters long and perhaps 10 wide. There are no windows in either building; only a door at each end. The harvesters sleep side by side along both lengths of the buildings, and movement within is restricted to a small path down the center between the feet of the occupants. A few couples have erected woven palm dividers for privacy, but the majority of harvesters sleep lined up like soldiers in a barracks. Most have constructed chapapas, raised platforms of tree saplings, so that they do not have to sleep directly on the ground. All cooking is done on open fires in front of each galpón. There is a shallow well for water and no sanitary facilities other than the woods a short distance away. In later conversations with other growers it was evident that the housing accommodations provided by the Morenos are about average for the area.

The first galpón houses the villagers from Sucre and the second consists of "voluntarios," a mixed group of harvesters who have hired on individually without the services of a contratista. Both groups have a spokesman, and each is a young male, bilingual in Spanish and Quechua. Although the galpónes are separated by only a short distance, and all cooking and socializing goes on in the same open space in front of both, there is little interaction between the two work groups. This seems to be the preference of the villagers, many of whom are

related and whose previous propinquity and shared experiences definitely make them an "in" group. These people have been returning to the lowlands in contingents of about 80 persons per year, approximately 6 per cent of the total village population. One harvester comments that perhaps twenty villagers and their families have chosen to remain in Santa Cruz to date. If while in the lowlands a job opportunity should arise, it is often adequate incentive to remain. The Morenos have also hired each year several of their fieldhands for off-season work on the farm. These people, explains Melfy, ultimately have all purchased land farther north or have gone into Montero to live and work.

Melfy and Lufs pay their workers every Saturday night. At first this did not seem extraordinary, but after witnessing the complexity of the all-night event it was obvious why most growers pay less often. Some refuse to pay their harvesters until the end of the season, excusing this practice with comments such as "If I didn't withhold their pay, these people would spend it all and go home broke." Actually, withholding salaries is a common method of forcing a worker to remain the duration of the harvest or forfeit his wages. Once the picking season has begun and harvesters have had more exposure to current prices being paid, they often prefer to move from farm to farm to take advantage of

labor price wars among the growers. To prevent this, growers simply withhold pay, and most pickers are hesitant in giving up even a week's wages to move to another farm unless the working conditions have become unbearable. Pickers who have signed contracts and then vacate the farm are in violation of their work agreement, but enforcement is difficult--especially in a seller's market where labor is scarce.

Weekly pay periods mean that the Morenos must have cash on hand and in the exact amounts necessary to give to each harvester. Melfy, who does most of the bookkeeping, must add up the pounds of cotton harvested by each worker, subtract any outstanding debts, and then note this final amount on an envelope with the name of the picker. The wages go inside. When payday arrives, the Morenos load their pickup truck with foodstuffs and other items from their store in Warnes. It is common for growers to provide this service, although many take advantage of their harvesters by charging exhorbitant prices for the goods they bring to the farm. Melfy charges the same prices that she does in Warnes, still making a profit and at the same time maintaining good will among her farmhands. Melfy Moreno continues this practice not out of any great humanitarian instinct, but simply because she is an astute businesswoman. If her laborers are kept content, she feels, they will



continue to return each year, and the farm will not be pressed for harvesters. Melfy is also aware that word of working conditions on a cotton establishment is carried back to the highlands by seasonal migrants, and it is better to lose a little in trade goods than risk an entire harvest.

After each harvester has received his or her pay envelope, Melfy, Lufs, and the overseer begin weighing out foodstuffs and noting the amounts in a ledger. From time to time a special request will be made for an encomienda such as a shirt or a pair of shoes which the Morenos will purchase in Santa Cruz or Montero and bring out to the worker the following week. Salary and food dispersal usually end early Sunday morning after which the Morenos make their way back to Warnes, and the harvesters return to the galpónes for a few hours' sleep before preparing for their trip to town.

Most pickers leave the farm on Sunday morning aboard the flatbed trailer pulled by the Morenos' farm tractor. They are taken into Warnes and dropped off and will be picked up for the return trip late in the afternoon. Some harvesters use this opportunity to buy items which the Morenos have not furnished or which might be purchased in Warnes at a better price. Others are interested in going to the market to browse, talk, and eat, and then on to a chichería for the remainder of the

day. Melfy noted that most of her workers make the afternoon pickup but are usually quite drunk. Some prefer to remain on the farm--to avoid the temptation of spending their money. Sunday there is spent relaxing and washing clothes for the following week.

Sundaying is an important event not just for the fieldhand but also for the investigator in search of migrant movement patterns in the region. While on the farm the harvesters are isolated from information flows which could effect their strategies to remain or return. They are in the center of the lowlands but at the same time are cut off from any wider understanding of the area. About all the farm experience provides is a developing awareness of learning to deal with Camba employers and a taste of the lowland natural environment. In order to acquaint themselves with lowland lifestyle options, harvesters must get off the farm.

When the fieldhands arrive in Warnes Sunday morning, some go to the two small open markets in the town or into the highland barrio to drink chicha. The majority, however, head immediately for the highway and climb aboard any available transportation going to Montero. Warnes presents an interesting and useful case in that it is almost a laboratory situation in terms of comprehending migrant Sundaying choices. The town is exactly equidistant from Santa Cruz and Montero, 30

kilometers from each. Thus the selection of the smaller city of Montero over the capital, Santa Cruz, cannot be attributed to either factors of distance or travel costs. The preference to go to Montero lies in other domains, and ones which ultimately have bearing on the migrants' successful entrance into lowland life.

The city of Santa Cruz provides no substantial attraction for the Sundaying harvester for several reasons. First, the route from the north enters the city at a point fairly distant from the location of the highland barrios. Thus an incoming harvester must pay an additional sum to get from the north road to a highland neighborhood and return. In most cases this means a taxi--a considerable expense. Second, the highland barrios may be located in one sector of the city, but they cover a very large area. Chicherfas are spread out in a similar manner, and a migrant who is a novice to the city would have to walk around a good deal to find a drinking establishment to suit his tastes. Third, the markets are also dispersed throughout the city and generally are not contiguous to chicherfas. Hence several forays are necessary to satisfy drinking and shopping needs, and only a limited time is available before the return trip must be made to Warnes. Finally, most of the highlanders in the city are from urban backgrounds, have little in common with the rural rustic, and would

not freely pass on housing and employment information in an already stressed situation. There is just not much to offer the Sundaying harvester in the city of Santa Cruz.

Montero, on the other hand, provides for many of the needs of the migrant harvester on short leave from the farm. Since this urban center is the topic of the following chapter, an in-depth appraisal at this point would be premature. However, some general comments can be made. Montero is a smaller city than Santa Cruz not only in terms of population but also in land area. Thus service centers in Montero are more compact and are separated from one another by much shorter distances. Because of its central location in the agricultural zone, Montero attracts highland harvesters and farmers from the entire northern region and consequently has become a stronghold of highland tradition and culture. The establishment of a highland district on the eastern outskirts of the city, where over 80 chicherías are located within an area of six square blocks, has held tremendous attraction for the harvester and farmer on a Sunday excursion. Then too, Montero's main market is located directly across from the highland barrio, with the Santa Cruz-Montero highway running between them. An incoming harvester need only get off a truck or bus, walk a few meters and be in the heart of the marketing

and drinking areas of town. Here Quechua is spoken freely and camaraderie runs high.

Beyond the attractions of ethnic solidarity and diversion offered by the city of Montero is the even more significant aspect of verbal exchange. Montero is a clearinghouse of information for the rural highlander. It is here where the harvester is brought up to date on job prospects, available land, possible housing, and the current status of family, friends, and countrymen. The chichería is the principal gathering place for the Sunday-ing crowd, and between drinking and dancing important information is appraised and discussed. The market place is another source of news, and vendors who have arrived recently from the interior relate the latest highland events. The level of interaction on this one day is so intense that the week's isolation on a farm becomes virtually inconsequential.

Sunday in Montero also has a great psychological impact on the highland migrant. The city is bustling with buyers, sellers, people looking for work and people in search of workers. It is a scene of almost frantic prosperity and eagerness in which the harvester is quickly caught up. Friends encourage him or her to stay in the lowlands, there is a good job available, or a piece of land is being offered at a giveaway price. Dreams suddenly become reality over a pitcher of chicha. The

fieldhand returns to Warnes late in the afternoon encouraged and exhilarated by the carnival atmosphere of Montero on Sunday. When the farm tractor pulls into town, tired and intoxicated harvesters climb aboard the trailer to begin another week of labor and to ponder the prospect of remaining in Santa Cruz.

### The Townspeople

People engaged in commercial enterprises in the town of Warnes have responded enthusiastically to the increased flow of money brought about by the recent surge in the agricultural sector. A spark of interest in developing Warnes has been kindled among the townspeople with the result that a new hospital has been completed with the financial assistance of Obras P blicas, and plans are being made to begin paving the plaza area with locetas. According to the Warne os, however, with every good there must come some bad--in this case the highlanders. All of the prejudices apparent in the city of Santa Cruz are magnified in Warnes. It is a small, family-controlled town, and old memories and hatreds run deep. Even the local priest, a foreigner, is uneasy about the addition of highland families to the town's populace. No small part of this ecclesiastical as well as secular disfavor is rooted in the presence of the chicher as.

Across the highway and contiguous to the new market is located the Warnes highland migrant barrio. It consists of about eight blocks in which the market vendors and chichería owners reside. Another group of highlanders have settled to the rear of the central market, perhaps five families, and several vendors live in the market itself, sleeping in their stalls. There are no chicherías in the central market area, however, as it is considered within the city limits and within Camba territory. The highland barrio has been named "Villa Tunari," after a mountain near Cochabamba. "Villa" is the preferred term of highlanders to designate a barrio. In it there are 17 chicherías, catering mostly to those harvesters who come to town on weekends.

Villa Tunari is still outside the main settlement of Warnes and consequently has enjoyed some autonomy. The chicherías are constructed along more traditional patterns with drinking areas situated facing the street and no high walls. Harassment by local authorities evidently is still minimal, but in light of recent occurrences, the Warnes chicherías may not be long in adopting some of the protective modifications found in Santa Cruz.

Even though the chicherías are located a good distance from the center of town, they are well within earshot of most residents. It is a common practice nowadays for these establishments to use amplificadores

which comprise large speakers, a record player, and a powerful amplifying system producing music which easily traverses the one-kilometer distance to downtown Warnes. Cambas also make use of rented loud-speaking systems for birthdays and other occasions, turning up the volume so that plaster is jarred off walls and ceilings. It is important to make known to as many people as possible that a party is in progress and that no expense has been spared. But when highland celebrations in chicherfas keep the town awake, they are met with grumbling and threats of violence--and chicherfas operate almost constantly. Even worse, as far as lowlanders are concerned, highlanders play all the wrong music. After several months of chicherfa activity, tempers in town were beginning to grow short.

A meeting of the townspeople was finally convened at the parish house and was presided over by the priest who was also alarmed at the changes occurring in once-peaceful Warnes. The "Kolla" element in town was going to have to be controlled. Only recently several thefts had been perpetrated on the church, most probably by highlanders it was felt, and now for the first time in the history of Warnes the church doors were kept locked except during devotions. Pressure was brought to bear on the chicherfas as the result of a series of maneuvers attempted by the town. The two local policemen



made several visits into the highland barrio but were generally unsuccessful in bringing about any modification of chicherfa activities. Then the priest spoke to several highland parishoners who, as faithful churchgoers, did not want to be associated with the chicherfa scandal. They began to work through barrio networks in an effort to coerce the chicherfa owners into submission. But the chicherfa owners are a numerous and tenacious faction and stubbornly refused to give in to the demands for silence. Finally, the town's power group, the Consejo Parroquial, also created by the priest, was called into a meeting to discuss the problem. This group consists of representatives from all the major organizations in Warnes, which include

- Club de Leones
- Club de Madres
- Escuela Said
- Hombres del Pueblo
- Junta Vecinal 15 de Noviembre
- Cooperativa de Servicios Públicos
- Asociación del Sagrado Corazón de Jesús
- Central Cultural Recreativo
- Liga Deportiva
- Escuela Mariano Saucedo Sevilla
- Cooperativa de Ahorro y Crédito
- Comité Cívico Juvenil
- Sindicato de Albañiles
- Representante de la Gente de Habla Quechua

In a town the size of Warnes it can be safely said that almost every adult in town belongs to at least one of these organizations. Until the advent of the chicherfa argument, the Consejo was uniformly Camba.

Then a highlander was added to the group. He was selected by the priest because he is an active parishoner and a member of the highland neighborhood, but he does not represent any formal barrio organization per se. Placing a highlander on the Consejo was simply a means by which an information source in Villa Tunari could be tapped. The young man is part of a large family engaged in marketing and as such has limited power in the highland barrio. As the sole highlander on the Consejo, his opinions and recommendations are heard but not necessarily heeded. This representative is used mainly as a mouthpiece to carry the proceedings of the Consejo reunions back to the highland neighborhood. The chichería owners responded to the Consejo's intrusion into their affairs by forming their own league, the "Asociación Villa Tunari," and a meeting was held at which both groups were in attendance. Amid threats and flaring tempers the chichería owners were outnumbered and consequently outvoted. They agreed to keep noise at a minimum level, and once again relative quiet reigns in Warnes. The Asociación Villa Tunari has since disbanded but no doubt will regroup if the need arises.

As a consequence of the chichería dispute, the schism between highlanders and lowlanders has widened appreciably. At first, the mere presence of highlanders in Warnes occasioned some ill feelings among the residents,

but the chichería episode along with the market situation have moved highlanders into a position of extreme disfavor.

When highlanders first began arriving in the Warnes area as the result of harvesting opportunities, a few migrants settled in the town proper to engage in commercial activity. This involved mostly street selling which entailed the setting up of a small stall, often of cloth or canvas. The vendors were engaged primarily in the selling of fresh produce, an important item in the highlander's diet and at the time generally ignored by lowlanders. Hence, street vendors did not immediately offer any threat to the pulperías, small stores in the homes of many Warneños. As more harvesters were brought in, the number of vendors also increased to cater to their needs. Soon the downtown streets were crowded with highlanders selling fruits and vegetables and other merchandise. The Camba stores were also doing well by this business, but most townspeople considered the presence of so many people selling and living in the streets of Warnes a nuisance and a health hazard. As a result, it was decided that street selling should be prohibited and that all vendors should be moved into an area set aside for marketing purposes. Although Warnes, like other lowland communities, has no tradition of either an open market or special days set aside for marketing such as is

common in the highlands, the abundance of so many highland street vendors inspired the building of the first marketplace in town. The controlling interests in Warnes, however, were not agreeable to the prospect of letting highlanders take over the market. Thus a series of brick kiosks were constructed around the periphery of the market area, and these shops were to be sold or rented to Cambas. The interior of the market, an open quadrangle, would be allotted to the highland merchants. In this manner lowlanders would be able to share in the expected profits from Sundaying harvesters as well as collect a rental fee from each vendor.

After four years of operation, the majority of lowlander-operated kiosks were bought out by the more astute highland entrepreneurs, and the market became dominated by people from the interior. As in the Santa Cruz case, prices in the market are much more competitive than those in pulperías since highlanders will settle for a slimmer profit margin in favor of volume sales. For cash transactions most Warneños go grudgingly down to the market where a few pesos can be saved. Thus the pulperías in Warnes have had to depend in great part on their credit customers for most of their business. Then too, the introduction of large amounts of fresh produce as a daily market item has had an effect on the dietary patterns of Warnes residents. Salads and vegetables are now an

integral part of lowland cuisine. Since highlanders control the sources of vegetable production in the mountain valleys, there is no possible way a Camba can compete in the produce trade. Although the Warnes townspeople do not want to admit it, highlanders have carved out a permanent niche for themselves in the community's economy.

It is interesting to note that meat selling is the one area of marketing in Warnes and in other localities which the highlander has failed to dominate. Cambas continue to control meat production in the lowlands, and the marketing of beef is done through a rancher-butcher-seller network which to date has excluded the highlander. To sell beef in a small town and to have a steady and dependable supply of meat, one must have established relationships with butchers as well as ranchers. As yet the highlander has been unable to break into this economic chain. Once enough highlanders become involved in cattle production, however, this one last bastion of Camba enterprise will no doubt become yet another casualty of highland entrepreneurship.

A second market was recently completed in what is now the Villa Tunari area. It began as a joint enterprise between a majority of Cambas and a highland minority, but this market also is now controlled by highland interests. The one exception is, of course, the Camba meat vendor. Hence, what began as a lowland effort to take

advantage of the presence of seasonal migrants, permanent migrant residents, and the influx of highland vendors, has been transformed into a highland dominion. The Cambas were quite effectively outwitted and are still trying to figure out how it all happened.

### The Migrants

The town of Warnes is a primary gateway into the lowlands for many highlanders, but it has not become a major center of migrant settlement. The land around Warnes consists primarily of large farms, 500 to 1,000 hectares in size, owned by agribusiness consortia and a few of the older families in town. Parcels of 40 to 200 hectares, usually farther out, belong to the town's small farmers. In the cultivation of sugarcane and cotton it is not economically feasible to farm much less than 40 hectares, and the small land parcel in this area is too much in demand for subsistence farming. Thus a prospective farmer from the highlands would be hard pressed to find a small parcel of land to cultivate in the Warnes area. The rural-oriented migrant will go north, into terrain where primarily rice and bananas are grown. Here land is still within reach of the peasant, and rice can be grown both for profit and subsistence. Furthermore, each tract can be multiple-cropped, giving the campesino a year-round income, albeit small, in contrast

to the monocropping practices common to the Warnes region.

For the urban dweller Warnes can also offer only limited opportunity. Because it is located just 30 kilometers from the departmental capital, Warnes has never grown into either a commercial or governmental center. The advent of the influx of highland harvesters on a seasonal basis allowed for a substantial but brief expansion of the town's economy, and a few migrants began to settle in Warnes. But because of the scarcity of farmland, Warnes has not attracted a significant rural immigrant populace to support increasing numbers of urban highlanders engaged in service activities. Once the saturation point in permanent income possibilities had been reached, the town's growth of urban highland immigrants began to taper off. Including both market areas and the Villa Tunari barrio, the entire highland migrant population of Warnes probably does not exceed 60 families. The majority of these persons are engaged in marketing, chichería operation, or are employed on nearby farms.

As discussed earlier, the principal residential area for highlanders in Warnes is across the highway in the Villa Tunari neighborhood. The highway is very much of a social boundary, and most of the town's Cambas refer to the terrain on the other side as "Kolla

territory." The highland barrio is the result of the dissolution of a larger landholding in the area. Because of community pressures to locate those migrants intending to remain in Warnes outside of the town proper and the requirements of the Urban Reform Law, the property owner was obliged to subdivide and sell. From the outset it was understood that the resulting lots would be allocated to highlanders. Some paid for their homesites outright, but provisions were made for those who did not have ready cash. Lots were sold at about 2 pesos (US \$.10) per square meter in the Villa Tunari barrio, and about half of the allotted area remains unsettled to date.

Unlike the Santa Cruz migrant settlement areas, the Warnes highland barrio is in no way a reflection of urban growth trends, transportation routes, or settlement sequences. The barrio exists where it is simply because the land was available and was far enough out of town. The construction of permanent dwellings has also failed to follow any discernible pattern, primarily as a consequence of almost simultaneous settlement of the area. Hence there is no system of linear progression from nonpermanent to permanent dwellings in the Warnes highland barrio as was found in Santa Cruz. It is notable, however, that very few of the houses in the barrio are of temporary construction. Once outside the city of Santa Cruz, highland migrants in urban localities generally move rapidly



toward the completion of a permanent structure. One reason for this is the lack of lámina factories in the department other than those in the city of Santa Cruz, so the inexpensive lámina dwelling is unknown in outlying areas. Also, rental housing, at least in Warnes, is not in any great demand. There is no continual influx of migrants seeking residence in the town, and those who do live there have initially constructed small masonry dwellings. The only rental group is the chicherfa owners, but the buildings that they occupy are also of masonry construction. In the eight-block area of the barrio, there are only four temporary houses, three of which are lowland-style pauhuichis of wattle-and-daub. The fourth is also a pauhuichi, but instead of constructing wattle-and-daub walls, the owner has enclosed the house with adobe bricks--a nice syncretization of highland and lowland architecture. It should be mentioned that all of these temporary dwellings were built by ex-harvesters who had worked in the lowland countryside for some time before moving into Warnes. They had, therefore, acquired the necessary expertise to erect a lowland-style structure. Still, the lack of this housing type within the barrio confines is an interesting comment on the settlement rationale of the residents. Some informants stated that they saved their money from fieldwork to build a brick house because they were tired of "living

like animals." Others were very much aware of the desire to impress the Cambas in Warnes that highlanders are "better" than lowlanders. A final segment of the population was simply interested in increasing the property value of their land should they decide to move elsewhere.

Twenty interviews of highland migrants were conducted in Warnes which included fifteen females and five males. Interviews were carried out in both markets as well as in the Villa Tunari barrio.

Table 16  
Informants - Sex

Sex	Absolute Frequency	Relative Frequency (%)
Male	5	25.0
Female	<u>15</u>	<u>75.0</u>
Total	20	100.0

Informants in the markets were selected by availability. If a person was busy selling, another nearby who was not engaged was interviewed. Three return trips were made to the central market, and a total of seven interviews was obtained. This represents about one-third of the permanent weekday vendors at that locality. Four informants were questioned in the new market, which was

50 per cent of that day's seller population. There were eight interviews conducted in the Villa Tunari barrio, and these selections were made by location within the barrio to include each quadrant and both permanent and temporary dwelling types. Two of the eight interviews here were in chicherías. The final informant was an old woman who lives in the town, although not in the central area. She is a folk doctor, a curandera, and has a special position in the social scheme of Warnes. Her story will be related in a later section of this chapter.

Of the 20 persons contacted, only three did not enter Warnes via harvesting. One of these is an elderly man from La Paz who was sent to Santa Cruz by his doctor as a health measure. Although he had lived most of his life in La Paz, this informant is of rural origin and wanted to return to a small agricultural town. He owns

Table 17  
Occupation Upon Arrival in Lowlands

Occupation	Absolute Frequency	Relative Frequency (%)
Harvesting	17	85.0
Chichería Operation	2	10.0
Retirement	<u>1</u>	<u>5.0</u>
Total	20	100.0

a large store in the new market. The other two individuals who have not worked in the fields are a chichería operator and a young girl employed in a chichería.

The proprietors of chicherías proved to be a unique group not only in their fortitude to stand up against the entire town, but also in their migration histories. Although they generally resisted interviews because of fear and uncertainty about the mission of the researcher, the chichería owners as well as their lifestyles are well known by other barrio residents. They are all women, of course, for the making of chicha is a woman's art. Many of them are also heads of matrifocal households which include any children of the owner as well as female help and their offspring. Although they may outwardly appear as such, most chicherías are not formal houses of prostitution. It is common for a chichería proprietor and her employees to "entertain" a client if they are so inclined, and children may result from these brief unions, but the chichería remains primarily a drinking establishment. These women are tough and shrewd and make good incomes. For many, the prospect of a permanent male in residence could be viewed only as a nuisance.

The female-headed households centered around chichería operation are also interesting in that they comprise a group of itinerant chicha vendors who

continually move from place to place. A house is rented, the chicha cauldrons and vats are set up, and business commences. When the customers begin to decline in number, the household paraphernalia are loaded on a truck and transported to a more prosperous locality. One chichería owner reported that she was going out to the Yapacaní agricultural colony the following weekend to look the place over. Business in Warnes was beginning to slack off, there had been trouble in town, and word had spread that there was money to be made in the Yapacaní. This woman is the daughter of a chichería proprietor and stated that she and her mother and brothers and sisters had always moved from one highland village to another. When the agricultural boom hit Santa Cruz, they came east. These women are in a sense the "professional" chicheras, not individuals who have fallen into the chicha business as an alternative to fieldwork.

The remaining chicheras in Warnes definitely chose the profession as a means of deriving income from some source other than harvesting. Many of these women had prior knowledge of chicha preparation and felt more comfortable in this domain than in marketing. Barrio residents confirmed that all the female highland migrants living in Villa Tunari were either unemployed, engaged in marketing or associated with a chicha establishment. A few knew of women employed in town as empleadas

(servants), living with their employers, but household service is viewed as only a temporary occupation. Two informants stated that they had also worked initially as empleadas after coming out of the fields, but only as a means of making enough money to begin marketing. Both were adamant in their dislike of the occupation of empleada and commented that what they hated most was being mandada (ordered around) by Camba women. Of the 15 females interviewed, nine are market vendors and five are owners or employees of chicherías. The remaining female is the curandera.

Table 18  
Female Informants - Present Occupation

Occupation	Absolute Frequency	Relative Frequency (%)
Marketing	9	60.0
Chichería Operation	5	33.4
Curandera	<u>1</u>	<u>6.6</u>
Total	15	100.0

Male informants' occupational specialties are selling, tractor driver, part-time mason/fieldhand, and fieldhand. Four of the five have spouses, two of which

Table 19  
Male Informants - Present Occupation

Occupation	Absolute Frequency	Relative Frequency (%)
Marketing	2	40.0
Tractor Driver	1	20.0
Mason/Fieldhand	1	20.0
Fieldhand	<u>1</u>	<u>20.0</u>
Total	5	100.0

remain at home in Warnes to care for young children and two who are engaged in marketing. Of the female informants, seven have spouses, four are presently unattached but have had previous alliances which resulted in offspring, and four are unmarried. Of those seven women with spouses, three have husbands who do not live in Warnes. They work agricultural land to the north and visit their families on weekends. The women remain in Warnes to engage in commerce and to school their children. Thus, out of the total sample population of 15 female informants, only four have spouses continually in residence. In terms of permanent migrant inhabitants, then, Warnes is primarily a woman's town. A rural-oriented male does not have much promise of year-round agricultural employment, and for those who aspire to owning a farm, Warnes has little land to offer.

As in Santa Cruz, illiteracy among the Warnes migrants is high. Thirteen of the female informants cannot read or write and two of the five males lack similar skills.

Table 20  
Illiteracy

Sex	Literate		Illiterate	
	Absolute Frequency	Relative Frequency (%)	Absolute Frequency	Relative Frequency (%)
Male	3	15.0	2	10.0
Female	<u>2</u>	<u>10.0</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>65.0</u>
Total	5	25.00	15	75.0

The disadvantages of being illiterate seem to be strongly felt among migrants, and the schooling of their children is consequently of primary importance in their lives. A Warnes schoolteacher reported that absenteeism among the children of highland migrants was much lower than that among Camba children.

Unlike Santa Cruz, which is attracting a pre-dominance of urban migrants, Warnes and the surrounding areas are recipients of individuals from rural situations. Fourteen of the 20 informants originate directly from a rural setting; three have rural highland origins but



moved into a city in the interior prior to coming to the lowlands. Only three are urban-born people who entered the Santa Cruz region as harvesters but quickly rein-stated themselves as urban dwellers in Warnes.

Table 21  
Migrant Origins

Origin	Absolute Frequency	Relative Frequency (%)
Rural	14	70.0
Rural-Urban Highland	3	15.0
Urban	<u>3</u>	<u>15.0</u>
Total	20	100.0

One of the three is a woman married to a Warnes Camba. This couple represents one of the very few cases of regional intermarriage encountered during the course of the study. The other two are a brother and sister from Oruro. The sister arrived first with the mother and several siblings. When queried as to her reasons for remaining in Warnes rather than locating in Santa Cruz or Montero she replied, "Hey mucha competencia en Santa Cruz y no me gusta vivir en Montero" (There is a lot of competition in Santa Cruz and I don't like living in Montero). The brother followed the family within a few

weeks of their arrival. His flight from the interior was the result of some political difficulties. He is not fond of Warnes or of the lowlands, but he cannot safely return to the highlands.

The dual nature of highland population flows into the department of Santa Cruz may be attributed to differing strategies of migration based on either rural or urban orientation. When a rural agriculturalist is faced with economic ruin or the slow disintegration of natural and capital resources, migration often becomes the only solution to increasing economic pressures. Urban migration tends to be viewed with some anxiety, but with no other reasonable options available, the farmer will move to a city. The Department of Santa Cruz, however, does offer alternatives which remain within the realm of experience of the rural inhabitant: harvesting and the opportunity to obtain good farmland at affordable prices. Thus the perceived risks involving a rural-rural move are not as great as those of a rural-urban migration. In the former, one's lifestyle can continue basically unchanged, and only the physical environment becomes an unknown factor. With the latter option, adaptations must be made to both a new lifestyle as well as to totally different physical surroundings. Thus the city of Santa Cruz is attracting a significant number of urban-oriented individuals as could be expected, while the rural

highlanders are selecting either the northern countryside or agriculturally based population centers such as Montero, Warnes, or other small communities.

A statistical test revealed that the mean age of the sample population in Warnes does not differ significantly from that of Santa Cruz. The latter mean is 31 while Warnes has a mean of 37. The Warnes population does have a greater variance, however, with a standard deviation of 19.58 as opposed to 12.78 for the city of Santa Cruz. The greater variance of the Warnes population is due in large part to sample size but is also a reflection of a more numerous group of informants in the upper age range. Thirty-five per cent of the Warnes population is over the age of 35 as compared to 23 per cent for the Santa Cruz sample.

In terms of regional origins of the Warnes migrants, they hold to a similar pattern as was found for the city of Santa Cruz. Exactly 50 per cent of the Warnes sample population originates in the Department of Cochabamba. Fifty-six per cent of Santa Cruz migrants are from this district. Once the Cochabamba sector is eliminated from the Warnes sample, the remaining areas do not vary greatly in the relative numbers of migrants they supply. As was found in the city of Santa Cruz, Cochabamba, both from propinquity and its function as a jumping-off place for highland migrants, is providing a

Table 22  
Place of Origin  
(Department or District)

Place	Absolute Frequency	Relative Frequency (%)
La Paz	1	5.0
Cochabamba	10	50.0
Sucre	2	10.0
Potosí	2	10.0
Oruro	3	15.0
Other	<u>2</u>	<u>10.0</u>
Total	20	100.0

substantial portion of the migrant population. With regard to Warnes, Montero, and other agricultural localities, however, an additional element must be taken into account in analyzing the Cochabamba concentrations. The majority of chicherías in the Department of Santa Cruz operate in the countryside, not in the city, and most chicheras are Cochabambinas. The possibility does exist that the rural sample may not have been influenced entirely by differential regional volumes of migration but by the abundant presence of a particular occupational group.

Additional Warnes migrant characteristics which compare positively with responses of the Santa Cruz sample

are economic motivation for leaving the highlands and multiple migrations. Reasons for migrating to Santa Cruz among Warnes informants are shown in Table 23.

Table 23  
Motives for Migration

Motive	Absolute Frequency	Relative Frequency (%)
Economic	17	85.0
Runaway	1	5.0
Other	<u>2</u>	<u>10.0</u>
Total	20	100.0

Those who are migrating for the first time number four, or 20 per cent, while 16, or 80 per cent, have migrated prior to their move to Santa Cruz.

Dress patterns among female migrants in Warnes do differ from those of the Santa Cruz population in that 13, or 86 per cent, continue to use traditional dress (pollera) as opposed to 62 per cent for the city migrants. Since Warnes constitutes a rural-oriented population, these latter results would seem to be in keeping with the more conservative attitudes of rural folk.

With regard to housing, once again the Warnes sample diverges from the Santa Cruz group. Primarily because of the lack of incoming migrants whose intention is to remain permanently in Warnes, there is little rental housing available in town. Consequently, the majority of the Warnes informants own their dwellings.

Table 24  
Housing

	Absolute Frequency	Relative Frequency (%)
Own	14	70.0
Rent (Chicherías)	3	15.0
Roomer	1	5.0
Live in Market	<u>2</u>	<u>10.0</u>
Total	20	100.0

Finally, 14 of the 20 migrants interviewed know, or are aware of, having other relatives in the lowland region. Kinship networks are maintained much as they would be in the highlands. Informants often mentioned that some of these relatives had not been seen or visited in years, but their whereabouts are known. If necessary, these relationships can be rapidly reinstated to provide mutual aid. Some migrants, nevertheless, may arrive alone

in the lowlands or may become temporarily separated from assistance networks. It is in relation to this latter migrant group that the curandera of Warnes enters the migration arena.

### Sandalia

Sandalia Rosado Vega is a 97-year-old folk doctor. Her mother died when she was a baby and a neighbor woman took her in, chose her given name, and taught her the art of curing. Sandalia is from Vallegrande and is therefore a "Camba-Kolla." Vallegrande is within the Department of Santa Cruz but is located in the area where the mountains begin to rise up off the plain. Many Vallegrandina women dress in the traditional pollera and wear their hair in double braids as does Sandalia, but they do not speak Quechua or truly identify with highland culture. At the same time, they are not lowlanders and do not regard themselves as Cambas. The Vallegrandino is medio camino, middle of the road, straddling both cultures but not actually belonging to either. It is because of Sandalia's age, origin, and her profession that she occupies what could be termed a broker position in Warnes society.

Sandalia lives in an adobe block house with a tile roof which was built by a highlander and which is the only dwelling of its type in Warnes. The house

consists of three rudely furnished rooms, a separate kitchen to the rear, and an outbuilding where Sandalia's chickens spend the night. Sandalia and her 57-year-old daughter occupy only one room of the dwelling since patients are housed in the remaining two. These patients are both Cambas and highlanders. Sandalia cares for them both and seems to relate as well to lowlanders as she does to the highland migrant. Her patients are of all ages, some traveling great distances to seek Sandalia's remedies. She is a very successful healer, and much of her success may be attributed to her great concern for the well-being of others. Sandalia concentrates on healing the body as well as the spirit, taking in people who have given up hope and who have no one to care for them.

Often at her own expense, Sandalia will feed and nurse a patient back to health, even if the individual is suffering from no greater illness than malnourishment, neglect, and depression. In many instances these individuals are highland harvesters. They have come to the lowlands alone or have become separated from their families. After working long hours in the heat and humidity of the lowland cotton or canefield, they return to a damp galpón to eat a miserable meal. They fall ill and are brought to Sandalia by the farm owner or a fieldhand friend. Using her curing practices and constant personal attention, Sandalia will have the average harvester back



on the job in three weeks. Fees are charged according to the ability of the patient to pay, and Sandalia depends on her more affluent clients to cover the costs of those who are too poor to reimburse her for her services.

Sandalia came to the lowlands in search of her daughter who had been contracted to work for three months for the harvest at La Bélgica. The three months went by and Sandalia's daughter failed to return. After six months the curandera packed her things and came to Santa Cruz to locate her only child. It took her almost two weeks to find her way out to the mill where she and her daughter were reunited. Sandalia's daughter had been hired for some additional work and had no way to inform her mother that she would be remaining in the lowlands. Sandalia decided to stay with her daughter and set up an eating establishment to serve meals to the harvesters. At the same time, she began to treat those fieldhands who fell ill or were injured. Gradually her curing business began to grow, and Sandalia and her daughter finally moved into Warnes where they purchased their present homesite.

Her healing business continued to prosper in the town, and Sandalia was soon able to discontinue most of her other activities such as selling along the roadside. She still makes bread every three days since she enjoys this chore and believes that her bread is much better

than any made in Warnes. Perhaps it is, for when Sandalia is baking there is a constant stream of townspeople stopping by her house to buy a few pesos' worth.

Sandalia cures with the *baño seco* (dry bath) method, and depends upon purgatives, herbs, and good food. Although she does not use the term "tuberculosis," Sandalia treats many highlanders whose symptoms would seem to be indicative of this disease. She claims that she can cure people who are *enfermo de los pulmones* (sick in the lungs) in three weeks. The first treatment involves a *baño seco* given every other day for three days. The *baño seco* consists of filling gourds with boiling hot water and placing them around the patient who is covered with blankets. Profuse sweating results and Sandalia must change her patient's bedclothes three times before the bath has ended. Afterward the ailing client is given broth prepared from white (meatless) beef bones. When the third and final bath has been administered, a purgative is given and the patient is allowed to rest. During the following days special foods are prepared such as egg-nogs and gelatin. When recovery begins, heavier solid foods are introduced.

For illnesses which are not readily discernible, Sandalia makes use of a diagnostic method involving divination through a *shogma*, though she does not use guinea pigs as is common in other Andean areas. Sandalia's

shogma must be a young chicken, which she herself raises. The patient is then told to blow in the bird's beak which, according to Sandalia, will cause the illness to pass from the patient into the body of the chicken. Then she kills the animal, opens it up, and begins to inspect the entrails of the chicken for signs of disease. Sandalia is normally concerned with the condition of the bird's blood and explains that there are three types of blood sickness: (1) sangre negra or enfuegada (black blood or hot blood), (2) sangrasa de resfrio (corrupt blood from a chill), (3) sangre débil (weak blood) which is light red or pink in color. All of these blood pathologies are cured primarily with the application of a baño seco--"con los baños se componen todas las sangres y se quedan en una" (with the baths all bloods are made well and become whole).

The remainder of Sandalia's cures consist of herbal preparations and the sacred power derived from religious articles. Sandalia is a devout Catholic and believes that all of the successful treatments are a result of her faith in God and the support of the Saints. She has a constant supply of bottles of holy water on hand, and goes to the parish priest to replenish her stock when it runs low. The holy water is often mixed with the dust which collects on her numerous religious statues, and the potion is then fed to patients.

This particular remedy is used for heart problems and nervous attacks. Sandalia will also have some of her homemade bread blessed by the priest to be used as nourishment for her patients.

The mystical number three, so important in Christian theology (the Trinity, Christ's ascension on the third day, the triple denial of Christ by Peter, the three crosses on Calvary, etc.) has obviously been incorporated into Sandalia's healing format. Thus three baños must be given, the bed is changed three times, most curing is put on a three-week schedule, bread is baked every third day, and the blood diseases are tripartite in nature. In spite of all her curing expertise, Sandalia believes that it is the sacred power of diety and saints which pulls the patient through. "Primero ruego a Dios y a la Virgen que pongan su mano y sobre esa pongo la mía" (First I pray to God and the Virgin to lay on their hands, and over theirs I lay mine).

Sandalia views her role as primarily that of healing physical afflictions, but she is also attuned to the importance of dealing with illness whose origins would seem to be psychosomatic. Many of the highland migrants who cross her threshold are in need of psychological reinforcement against the disorientation brought about by having to deal with a new natural and social environment. Because Sandalia is herself a "neutral"

person, she has become an agent to assist the foundering migrant in making some difficult adjustments to change. David Jones has written of Sandalia's counterpart among the Comanche Indians who also are making oftentimes painful adaptations to acculturative pressures. The woman is Sanapia, a folk doctor.

Perhaps the most significant points this study has illustrated are the psychotherapeutic functions which Sanapia possesses in contemporary Comanche culture . . . [in treating] a conversion reaction whose negative emotional basis is founded in the cultural and personal confusion and tension produced by the increasingly efficient success of acculturation in corroding the traditional basis of Comanche society. It then appears that Sanapia is the curer of a dynamic and functional human disorder. Sanapia treats the individuals rather than a specific static human affliction. (Jones 1968:104)

Jones attributes Sanapia's continuing success, in spite of the presence of white doctors, to her holistic approach to healing. It is in this respect that Sandalia has also prevailed over the practitioners of "modern" medicine. She views the illness of each patient as something entirely idiosyncratic to that individual and as a disease which must be treated on various levels of understanding. In essence, Sandalia does not separate mental from physical illness. Hence a highlander suffering from some unknown sickness which has been treated unsuccessfully by a mestizo physician will often seek out Sandalia's aid and be cured. Her astounding success

in many of these cases appears to be based in her ability to deal with depression and alienation as expected components of disease. For not a few highlanders, then, the decision to remain in the lowlands has been influenced in no small way by the careful ministrations of an aging Vallegrandina.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### MONTERO: AGRICULTURAL CROSSROADS OF THE NORTH

National interest in opening the lowlands for exploitation resulted not only in the completion of the Santa Cruz-Cochabamba highway but also in the construction of an additional stretch of paved road leading north from Santa Cruz. The purpose of this highway was to service the first government-built sugar mill, Guabirá, which began operations in 1956. The Guabirá sugar refinery was located at a site just northeast of the town of Montero, 30 kilometers north of the city of Santa Cruz and the center of the best agricultural lands of the department. This region soon was to become the focus of population relocation programs, foreign as well as domestic, multinational development projects, and large-scale commercial agricultural enterprises.

At a point not distant from Montero and the Guabirá mill, the asphalt highway terminated and the old dirt track continued a short distance and then split into two branches, one heading west across the Yapacaní River and the other east to the Río Grande. Along these two roads new colonization zones were opened, and highlanders

as well as groups of Japanese and Okinawans were granted tracts of farmland. The paved highway along with the offer of free land brought more people into the north. Montero's good fortune in being situated near the junction of these roads meant instant prosperity, and as commercial agriculture took hold in the region, the town's economy surged beyond even the most optimistic expectations.

### The City

The northern Santa Cruz region has a history of settlement as old as that of the department itself, but like most of the lowlands prior to the 1950's, life proceeded at a leisurely, unhurried pace. Camba agriculturalists planted rice, coffee, bananas, and manioc and then loaded their produce aboard oxcarts to make the long trip into Santa Cruz. They often formed caravans to protect their cargoes and their lives against attacks by bandits who roamed the area in search of the unwise lone traveler. At this time Montero was just another Camba village along the route to the urban center of Santa Cruz.

With the construction of the Guabirá mill and the asphalt highway leading to it, Montero was given unprecedented opportunity for economic development.



As would be expected, the town began to grow rapidly in area and population. In 1950 the town's population numbered 2,700. By 1967 the inhabitants had swollen to 13,500 (Solíz 1974:3). As the last urban concentration on the Santa Cruz-Guabirá highway, Montero soon became the commercial and governmental headquarters of the northern provinces. The National Colonization Institute (Instituto Nacional de Colonización) established its regional headquarters there along with the office of the Agrarian Judge in charge of resolving land disputes. In addition, several banks opened branch offices in Montero, and many of the larger Bolivian chain stores such as Manaco shoes acquired plaza locations. To the south of the city, the U. S. Point Four program constructed a multimillion dollar experimental farm, Muyurina, with the intent of providing agricultural assistance to the newly developing region. Muyurina was subsequently sold at a loss to the Salesian Fathers who have since converted the complex into a boarding high school for campesino youth.

North of the city, the Methodists established their lowland religious center and school. In addition to the school and church on the outskirts of the city, the Methodists constructed a hospital in central Montero which they continue to administer. In other areas of the city the Baptists and Jehova's Witnesses have also

erected churches and together with the Methodists and Mennonites are vying with the Catholics for converts. In the spirit of ecumenism a group known as the Iglesias Unidas (United Churches) has been formed to attempt to coordinate the activities of all of these religious organizations. Each denomination is a member, and regularly scheduled meetings are held to discuss plans for the spiritual as well as economic development of Montero and surrounding regions.

In 1968 the roads branching east and west from Montero were also paved, opening these agricultural zones for more intensive settlement as well as providing them with all-weather market routes. Again, Montero's growth was given additional impetus, and the once insignificant Camba village was converted into a boom town rivalling even the city of Santa Cruz. By 1973 the northern city's population had reached 22,000 with a growth rate of over 9 per cent per year (Reye 1974:107a).

Today, Montero boasts telephone service with the rest of the nation, sewers, loceta-paved streets, and a recently completed poured-in-place concrete water tank with a million-liter capacity. Next to the Methodist school there is a new hotel financed jointly by the Corporación Boliviana de Fomento and the Interamerican Development Bank at a cost of US \$321,000. The Hotel Asahi is complete with swimming pool, dining rooms,

air-conditioned guest cottages and a daily room charge of US \$20.00.

Montero is swiftly becoming a highlander city. Although the Cambas at present remain in control of the governmental bodies of Montero, highlanders are quickly gaining economic domination of the city. It is also quite probable that highlanders in Montero now outnumber the lowland inhabitants. One authority has estimated that during the height of the harvest season, the city's population may be augmented by as many as 7,000 persons, most of whom are natives of the Bolivian interior (Solíz 1974:4).

Like Warnes, Montero was also bypassed by the highway which skirts the eastern periphery of the city before once again proceeding north five kilometers to the Guabirá mill. Unlike Warnes, however, Montero has not been adversely affected by the bypass. Within a relatively short time, the city had grown to the limit of the highway and has now extended beyond it. Also, as a road-junction urban site, Montero has the advantage of being strategically situated, and its distant location 60 kilometers from the city of Santa Cruz makes it an important regional service center.

In spite of increasing marketing and commercial activity in the areas contiguous to the highway, Montero's central plaza zone continues to be the most

desirable and prestigious business property in the city. A few old families still reside in homes fronting directly on the plaza, but even these individuals have converted parts of their dwellings into commercial enterprises or restaurants. In many respects, the main square of Montero resembles its larger counterpart in Santa Cruz. The Catholic church dominates one side of the plaza along with the offices of the church-operated savings and loan cooperative. The remaining three sides are filled with banks, governmental bureaucracies, stores and eating establishments.

Downtown Montero is lowlander territory, but it is surrounded by ever-increasing numbers of highlanders who are inexorably pushing their way into the sanctity of the Camba stronghold. When the first colonization projects commenced northwest and northeast of the city, a few highlanders moved into the city to begin trading. An open area just east of the plaza was soon converted into a small open market place. Successful rice production, the cane, and later, the cotton industries attracted more settlers and even greater numbers of harvesters from the highlands. The market area also began to expand and soon was overflowing into neighboring streets to accommodate the new arrivals.

The Montero Cambas were distressed at the numbers of highlanders pressing in around the plaza and also

at the sudden appearance of chicherías within the town proper. Complaints by townspeople concerning the market and the presence of chicherías in town brought about a city ordinance which effectively exiled both from central Montero. A new market place was secured by the alcaldía to be situated along the highway on the inner periphery of the bypass. The chicherías were forbidden to operate within the boundary of the asphalt road and consequently have moved into Villa Cochabamba, the highland neighborhood on the other side of the highway opposite the new market. There are a few still functioning near the hospital, but since most of the residents in this area are highlanders, these chicherías have been permitted to remain.

As in Santa Cruz and Warnes, the highland segment of the town's population is concentrated in its own district. As previously mentioned, the entire zone east of the highway, known popularly as Villa Cochabamba, is inhabited by highlanders. In addition to this settlement area, there is a Camba-Kolla continuum from the paved road toward the center of town, with highlanders in the majority at the highway end and Cambas still clinging to the sector around the plaza. It is the highlanders, however, who are gradually moving along this continuum as they acquire property vacated by the Montero Cambas. The lowlanders in turn are migrating to Santa Cruz.

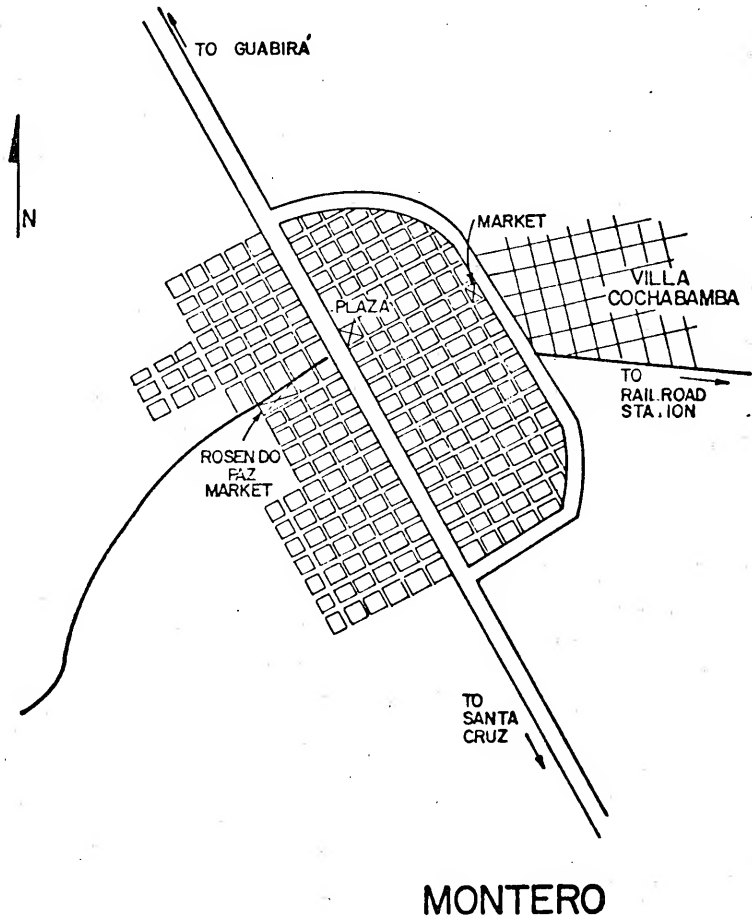


Figure 5. Montero

This same pattern of successive migration is occurring throughout the northern Santa Cruz region. As Cambas leave towns and countryside to migrate to the city of Santa Cruz, highlanders move in behind them.

To the west of Montero, a new market has been constructed and named after the man who donated the property, Rosendo Paz. Paz continues to operate a tannery in the property contiguous to the market. Because of its location at a point distant from the highway and the competition presented by its counterpart to the east, the Paz market is struggling for existence. Unlike the large Villa Cochabamba market which is totally controlled by highlanders, the western market has a few remaining Camba vendors. A scattering of highland families has settled around the Paz market in anticipation of its possible future prosperity.

As a lowland trade center, Montero is second only to Santa Cruz. Until recently, prices in Montero had been somewhat higher than those of the departmental capital, but for many, the saving of a few pesos did not make the longer trip worthwhile. It was only when specialty items such as mechanical parts, appliances, or clothing were needed that the journey into Santa Cruz became necessary. Nowadays, however, there is very little that Montero cannot provide. In addition, with the city's increased growth and subsequent rise in volume

sales, prices in Montero have fallen within competitive range of Santa Cruz. In fact, it is now common for many highland truckers to bypass Santa Cruz and go directly to Montero to sell their cargoes.

Because of its function as a regional service center for primarily rural highlanders, Montero has many items which are campesino specialties and which are therefore somewhat more difficult to obtain in Santa Cruz. The market place in Montero has a much better selection of hand-woven woolen articles and polleras, for example, than do any of the Santa Cruz markets. Most interesting is the coca vendor's street directly behind the main Montero market. The chewing of coca is a custom practiced by a large segment of the highland population, men and women alike, but it is a tradition linked with the indigenous substrata. Hence, coca use tends to be more prevalent among the campesino group than among urban dwellers.

Coca can be purchased in the city of Santa Cruz, but vending areas are small, and selection is limited--a reflection of the relative lack of demand for the product in the city. For good coca in the lowlands, one must travel to Montero. On the coca street, female vendors are lined up under their sunshades, each woman with a small table and a chair or box to sit on. Every vendor will have several large sacks filled with coca from the different production areas of Bolivia. Prices vary



according to freshness and place of origin. The most prized coca is from the La Paz Yungas, east of the national capital, and consequently is more expensive than other varieties. The Paceñan coca is said to be more potent and sweeter to chew. Most coca trucks from the highlands will reserve a large part of their cargoes for Montero. When they arrive at the market there is a frantic scramble by the coca vendors and their helpers to purchase the best product ahead of their competitors. Prices for coca vary only according to quality so it behooves a vendor to have a good supply of the best. Rural highlanders will appraise the coca at each stand before deciding on the type and the amount they acquire. For the highland campesino, a trip to Montero would be incomplete without a stop at a coca vendor's table.

In addition to its importance as a marketing and service center, Montero is also the northern region's principal location for secondary education. Most settlements, including the agricultural colonies, have some provision for primary education, but until recently the inhabitants of the area were required to send their children into Santa Cruz for secondary education. Only the well-to-do of any community could afford this expense. Today Montero offers numerous choices in secondary schools, both church-affiliated and public. For those in nearby towns, daily commuting to a colegio

in Montero is now possible. For example, a group of Warnes parents have formed a transportation cooperative to send their children to Muyurina each day. Those students who live a good distance from Montero will find their education expensive, but still less than having to live and study in Santa Cruz. It is also important to note that at least two of the secondary schools, Muyurina and the Methodist colegio, are geared toward educating the children of campesinos and include agricultural studies in their curricula.

Agriculture, commerce, education, and finally, light industry have all combined to make Montero the fastest growing urban center in the lowlands. Although the city has only 4 per cent of the departmental population, Montero can lay claim to over 19 per cent of the total number of selected industrial complexes in the Department of Santa Cruz.

In overall industrial development, the city of Santa Cruz still leads by a very wide margin, and in many cases it is the sole location of a particular industry such as the oil refinery. Still, in a region which has been dominated traditionally by a single central place, Montero is a fast-rising star and may prove a substantial threat to the economic hegemony of urban Santa Cruz. The more optimistic Montereños and the more pessimistic Cruceños believe that in the near future

Table 25  
Selected Industries

Industry	Department	Montero	Per Cent of Total
Sugar Mills	3	2	66.6
Saw Mills	43	6	13.9
Rice Mills	19	5	26.3
Cotton Mills	15	2	13.0
Beverages	11	2	18.1
Tanneries	<u>5</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>20.0</u>
Totals	96	19	19.7

Montero may supplant Santa Cruz as the dominant urban center of the region. The highway leading westward from Montero will one day connect with another paved road pushing east from Cochabamba. When the two highways are linked, a new and shorter route to the highlands will be available. Some lowlanders believe that this will result in even greater importance for Montero which will then be the closer city.

#### Migrant Center of the North

Fanning out in all directions from Montero are the most productive agricultural lands of Santa Cruz.

To the south are cotton and sugarcane; to the east and north are rice and cane fields. The wetter zone approaching the mountains to the west is prime rice territory. Throughout the northern Santa Cruz region, in areas where grassland has taken over the forest, cattle are raised along with crops. Just ahead of the line of farmers and frontiersmen clearing land, loggers are moving relentlessly farther into the virgin wilderness in search of the lowland hardwoods.

All of these endeavors require people--people to farm, people to plant, people to harvest. There must be individuals to drive logging trucks and farm tractors, to haul cane and rice and cotton. Highland Bolivia is furnishing the majority of laborers and settlers necessary to keep the lowland agricultural machine operating at its present rate. At the hub of the labor pool is Montero, the region's manpower brokerage center.

Three blocks east of the Montero main plaza is located the office of the Federación de Campesinos del Norte, housed in an old building constructed of white-washed wattle-and-daub with a tile roof. Behind the office is a large walled-in dirt courtyard. A few mango trees shade the area. The clay patio serves much the same purpose as a holding pen at a stock yard, only here it is highland migrants who are waiting to be

hired as harvesters or fieldhands. When night falls the area becomes a campground for those highlanders in search of work who have no other lodging place. At the front of the Federación office there are also groups of men and women standing or sitting next to their few belongings waiting in anticipation of a job contract. They too may be found at night sleeping in the open for want of shelter in the city.

The Federación de Campesinos is a multipurpose organization under the control of the national government and managed by the military. In 1974 the Federación de Campesinos had 34,000 members on its rolls who were classified as flotantes (seasonal migrants) and 20,000 asentados (settled farmers). Of the 34,000 migrant laborers it is estimated that approximately 14,000 remained in the lowlands. In 1975 an expected 60,000 migrants will enter Santa Cruz, and of these perhaps as many as half will decide to settle in Santa Cruz (Federación de Campesinos 1975). Aside from its stated functions of labor management and worker protection, the Federación has set out to undermine and eventually exterminate the labor unions or sindicatos. The Federación is only one of five bureaucracies\* which in concert

---

\*Linked to the Federación are the Banco Agrícola (Agrarian Bank), Desarrollo de Comunidades (Community Development), Acción Cívica Militar (Military Civic Action) and the Instituto Nacional de Colonización (National Colonization Institute).

maintain effective control over highland campesinos in the rural areas of the lowlands. It is notable that these efforts have been directed primarily toward the highlander who has a recent history of unionization. The Camba campesino has generally displayed indifference to organizing attempts by political parties or other groups.

The Federación currently is spearheading a movement to organize the highland campesinos into nucleos, or cell groups in each community or settlement area where migrants are present. The nucleos are reportedly a first step toward the creation of cooperatives in the farming community. The internal organization of the nucleos, however, does not seem to differ significantly from the sindicato predecessor. In fact, many of the same personnel are holding positions in the nucleo comparable to those of the old union. One nucleo member did state that the reorganization of these campesino bodies has diminished some of the autocratic power previously held by union leaders, and that members now have a greater voice in the decision-making process.

The past history of union movements in Bolivia and their efficacy in revolutionary upheavals has given the present government some cause for concern. By bringing them the direct jurisdiction of the ruling party and the military (actually one and the same), the national

government has reduced the threat of insurrection. As a lowlander, the President of Bolivia no doubt is quite uncomfortable with the thought that the highland sindicatos are diffusing into the pristine lowlands. Although union leaders worked diligently to unionize campesinos in Santa Cruz after the 1952 revolution, the idea never quite caught on among Cambas as it did among highlanders. Consequently, Santa Cruz remained relatively unaffected by organized labor movements in the nation, and the efforts of the Federación eventually to transform the labor unions into cooperatives have been directed primarily at the highland campesino migrant.

Groups of migrants such as ex-harvesters commonly form leagues for the purpose of pressuring the government for farmland. These leagues are also called cooperatives in keeping with the accepted terminology of the moment. Working through the Federación or another governmental agency, a cooperative will present a formal petition for the occupancy of a particular tract of land. Membership in the Federación does not guarantee settlement assistance, but it is one means of gaining access to those bureaucracies which control land allocations.

The larger the cooperative formed, the more power and money it will have to confront the politicians who authorize land grants in the lowland territories. It is therefore a common practice for active recruitment

to be carried on among prospective highland settlers while they are in Montero. Each new cooperative member must pay an initial quota of US \$50.00 to \$100.00. For most migrants, this sum represents a substantial outlay, but if the organization is successful in its petition for land, the returns are well worth the investment.

Along with their interests in organizing campesino cooperatives, the Federación offices also preside over the exchange of labor in the northern Santa Cruz region. Since a large majority of voluntarios, farm workers not under contract, will go directly to Montero and the Federación office to find work, contratistas and other individuals in need of laborers will frequent the establishment. Fees must be paid for the use of this brokerage service by the person doing the hiring, but the newly arrived migrant naive to the rules of the game will often fall prey to the unscrupulous labor operative. Supposedly to prevent such occurrences, there is a work inspector (Inspector de Trabajo) present in the Federación office. His duties include the protection of laborers' rights, and a large portion of his day is spent in resolving minor disputes between management and labor or among groups of farmhands. In many cases equitable agreements are reached, but it is not uncommon for the Inspector to pressure the workers rather than the employer to cease hostilities.



The Federación is the primary formal labor brokerage center in Montero, but there are numerous informal locations which serve as nexus for workers and farm management. Many migrants simply hang around the plaza waiting for a truck to stop and pick them up. Others stand across the street from the Federación office hoping to find jobs while avoiding bureaucratic red tape and membership fees. The market zone and highland neighborhood, especially in the vicinity of the chicherías, also provide meeting places for laborers and their clients. The latter situation is reminiscent of a similar pattern in the United States where farm buses make morning rounds of all the town bars to collect the day's contingent of migrant harvesters. The same informal system of labor exchange occurs in other lowland localities, as in Warnes, but on a much smaller scale. For anyone in the labor market, buyer or seller, Montero remains the best brokerage center in Santa Cruz.

Montero attracts not only seasonal migrants from the highlands, but also many ex-harvesters who have become lowland farmers and are in need of work between plantings. This is especially true of the rice farmer whose harvest in April and May will not normally conflict with the later cane and cotton season. The three-month slack period between the end of rice harvest and the next planting in September and October leaves

many small farmers idle and in short supply of ready cash. Many will head for Montero to hire on as day laborers in the harvests. Once again, it is primarily highlanders who avail themselves of the opportunity to supplement their farm incomes with outside work. The Camba generally does not participate in this activity, preferring instead to seek work locally or simply wait out the lean period by living on credit.

On the other side of town from the Federación de Campesinos office is situated the regional headquarters of the Instituto Nacional de Colonización (INC). This site is another focal point of interest for the migrant in Montero. It is through the INC office that recruitment of colonists for new agricultural settlements is conducted.

In comparison to previous years' activities, the colonization bureaucracy has diminished significantly its administrative role in the colonies. From its capacity as sole controlling agent, the Institute has now begun to withdraw gradually from its position of absolute autonomy in colonial matters. The older colonies presently are under the fiscal administration of the Department of Santa Cruz, and public officials are selected from among the resident settlers. The Yapacaní colony shortly will be divested of its colony director (Jefe de Zona), and transferred to public control under

the departmental government. Two more recent colonies, Buen Retiro (Antofagasta) and San Julián, remain under the auspices of the INC, but much of the actual fact-to-face contact with colonists is being carried out by the Iglesias Unidas (United Churches) group which is composed of Catholics, Methodists, and Mennonites.

The Bolivian government and its settlement agency, the INC, have a long and somewhat torturous history of involvement with colonization projects and have witnessed the expenditure of millions of dollars in loans without much visible result. Not necessarily having learned from its errors, but no longer having the almost limitless funding for colonization efforts, the Institute has been forced to limit its input into such projects. Now, the major government commitment is to provide land in surveyed parcels, an access road, and water pumps at four-kilometer intervals. The colonists must rely on their own resources for any additional services or depend on the Iglesias Unidas.

The Iglesias Unidas of Montero arose as the result of the disastrous lowland floods of 1967. In an effort to coordinate rescue, temporary shelter, and relocation operations, the major church groups of the city formed a combined assistance unit, later to be called the United Churches of Montero. Involvement in the resettlement of flood victims became the backdoor entry for this group into the colonization arena.

In order to relocate the displaced victims, two new tracts of land were opened in 1968 for colonization. These became known as the Colonia Piray and the Colonia Hardeman (the latter named after the American road company whose camp was used as a temporary shelter site). The Maryknoll nuns along with Methodist and Mennonite volunteers worked with the colonists to start anew. Along with the original flood victims, ex-harvesters were also recruited by the INC and church organization to fill the settlements. From that point on, the Iglesias Unidas played an active role in colonial development. The Bolivian government was financially unable to provide comparable services, and the two groups began working in complementary capacities. When the new San Julián colony was initiated, the Iglesias Unidas was charged with the task of planning and executing an orientation program for incoming colonists and providing them with volunteer technical assistance. The INC supplies the infrastructure for the fledgling settlement.

Recruitment for San Julián was carried out at the Institute office and at tables set up in the areas of Montero where highlanders tend to concentrate. Rather than follow precedents of the past and recruit directly from the interior, the two agencies sought highland migrants who, because of their preadaptation in the lowland harvests, were considered to be better

risks for the project. Thus a large majority of the San Julián settlers are ex-harvesters who had been visiting Montero at the time of recruitment. Although land in the colonies is now available only on occasion, migrants continue to pass by the INC office to inquire about colonizing opportunities. If none seem forthcoming, prospective agriculturalists must turn to a land cooperative or purchase their land from a private individual-- both much more costly propositions than obtaining a plot from the government.

During the harvest season and to a lesser extent during planting and weeding times (what amounts to almost three-fourths of the calendar year), Montero becomes the meeting ground for the highland agricultural populace of the northern Santa Cruz region. Farmers in the area market much of their produce in Montero, where prices paid for agricultural products are competitive with those in Santa Cruz. They also make use of the opportunity to replenish their larders, buy seed and equipment, and visit the chicherías. Most marketing activities are carried out on weekends, especially on Sunday when the city is overflowing with harvesters, merchants, farmers, hucksters, and hundreds of visitors eager to share in the festivities. Passenger trucks, buses, and private vehicles are filled to capacity transporting people to and from Montero on Sunday. At times the transient

population reaches such proportions that crowds turn into angry mobs fighting for space on a truck or bus in order to return home by late evening. The renown of Montero is such that on Sunday persons from as far away as the city of Santa Cruz will eagerly make the 60-kilometer excursion into the northern province to participate in the marketing and drinking activities or to simply sit in the plaza and watch.

The carnival atmosphere of Montero on Sunday pervades the entire city and is highly contagious to anyone who may venture into town. Migrants disembark from vehicles with eyes wide and mouths agape. Soon they are caught up in the swirl of buying and selling, drinking, dancing, and animated conversation. Nowhere is off-limits to the migrant throng, much to the displeasure of the Camba residents. Highlanders sit and talk in the plaza, they line the street curbs; hawkers are everywhere shouting and pleading with passersby to stop and survey their merchandise. This is the day when newly arrived migrants meet and talk with older town residents and settlers from the hinterlands. The neophyte is given information about land, business opportunities, employment or perhaps news of a long-lost relative known to have traveled east. Cooperatives are organized, or already established groups seek to interest new members. Agriculturalists look for farm help, and laborers

search for possible employers. Widely dispersed families will often meet in Montero to renew old ties and pass on gossip. Even soccer games between rival communities of highlanders are often brought to Montero to dispute the match. Business is conducted in the markets, on sidewalks, or in chicherías. By nightfall the city is ablaze with light and throbs with the sound of amplificadores pounding out strains of highland music.

The following morning a semblance of normalcy reigns. Most of the visitors have returned to homes and farms for another week of work. A few chicherías remain open, serving the die-hards trying to squeeze a little more mileage out of their Sunday. Many of the streets near the chicherías are littered with the inert bodies of the previous day's drinking casualties, highlanders who will later contend with the wrath of wives or employers, or both.

#### Montero's Migrant Barrio

The Methodist hospital, located about four blocks east of the plaza, is the present Camba-Kolla settlement boundary in Montero. Dispersed highland families live in other areas of the city as well, but as yet they have not formed any major barrio concentrations. To date, the primary highland residential areas are east of the hospital

and in Villa Cochabamba which is situated directly facing the market on the far side of the paved road.

Although highlanders are living within the inner boundary of the highway, the road once again has become a social marker as is the case in Warnes. Those highlanders west of the highway work in the market, own small stores, or are employed as day laborers. Buildings in this area are constructed of permanent materials and generally conform to the urban style of the surrounding Camba neighborhoods. Rental housing is common here, especially in the form of "long houses," single rectangular dwellings housing numerous families in individual rooms. Unlike those found in the city of Santa Cruz, these rental complexes are well constructed of brick and tile. Absentee landlords are also prevalent in Montero, but are of a different genre than their Santa Cruz counterparts. Many of the Montero rental housing owners are campesinos who maintain dwellings in the city to provide inexpensive shelter for themselves while marketing. In the interim, the property both is protected from abuse and provides a small additional income for the farm family. It is common for one or two members of an extended or a nuclear campesino family to reside in one room of such a complex while the remaining kin continue to work their land.



A few chicherías may be encountered in the inner highland zone, but as one informant remarked, pressure by the lowland citizens is such that very little open drunkenness exists here. These chicherías are primarily dance halls and gathering places rather than actual drinking establishments.

West of the highway lies Villa Cochabamba, unequalled anywhere in the lowlands, and perhaps even in the highlands, for its multitude of chicherías. Villa Cochabamba, like Villa Tunari in Warnes, is the result of both highland pressure for living space and lowland desire to remove the highlanders from central Montero. Once again, the Urban Reform Law was invoked to obtain the property which subsequently has been subdivided into urban dwelling sites. At present, the barrio is concentrated into an area four by three blocks square, with the longer side running along the highway. There are other houses scattered outside of this main settlement area, but they remain few in number, and many are in various stages of completion. What is most notable about the central district of the Villa is the proliferation of drinking establishments. In the entire 12-block area there appear to be only two dwellings which are not involved in the preparation or serving of chicha. One of these two is a pauhuichi inhabited by a Camba family. The Cambas are original residents of the property who

have chosen to remain in their home. The pauhuichi is totally surrounded by chicherías and is definitely the neighborhood anomaly.

Within the confines of Villa Cochabamba are 80 chicherías (Municipalidad de Montero 1975). This represents an average of over six drinking establishments per square block. The architecture of the Montero chicherías seems to be a combination of both traditional highland styles and lowland adaptations. Many of the smaller chicha bars are built directly facing the street with the drinking parlor visible to passing traffic. Some of the larger chicherías have elaborate "fortifications" consisting of high walls with broken glass along the top and impregnable wooden or metal doors, a style commonly found in the city of Santa Cruz. All are adorned with small hanging signs or painted wall advertisements extolling the virtues of the brew served within--"chicha buena," "chicha clizeña," or "chicha punateña."\* The city of Montero collects a healthy tax from the chicherías, so, for the moment, their presence is tolerated. It would seem, nevertheless, that many bar owners, especially the "professionals" who have had previous negative encounters with the authorities, are diligent in

---

\*Cliza and Punata are villages in the Cochabamba Valley renowned for their excellent chicha.

protecting their property and go to great expense in barricading themselves from unwanted intrusion. These women are taciturn and distrustful, as well they might be, since hostility and deceit directed from the dominant society are a daily part of their lives.

As in Warnes, the chicherfa owners are a mixed group of females consisting of those who have come initially to Montero for the express purpose of opening a drinking establishment, and others who entered the business as an alternative to fieldwork or farming. The structures which house chicherías are both owned and rented, the latter option preferred by the professional chicheras who will move on if their customers begin to slack off. Some chicheras who entered the business following other occupational experiences engage in part-time activities such as marketing. Since weekdays tend to be a slow period, chicha vendors will often make use of this time to operate a market stall or prepare food to sell to shoppers.

Buildings are permanent in the main settlement area of Villa Cochabamba as would be expected with the number of drinking establishments present in the district. All are constructed of brick and have tile roofs. Many of the chicherías have minimal finishing, some lack windows or floors, and the brick walls have not been stuccoed as is the custom for a completed building.

It would seem that the major concern in many cases is to erect a structure as quickly as possible to accommodate one's drinking clients. Some chicherfas will be completed as time and money permit, but others may remain much as they are since they adequately serve their purpose.

The Villa is expanding to the east and south, so as one moves farther in these directions, dwellings become more scattered and a greater number of temporary structures are in evidence. The major nonpermanent building material in Montero consists of the rough, first-cut boards which are discarded by lumber mills in the area. Lap-sided shacks are erected from the refuse lumber, and most will have corrugated iron roofs making them extremely uncomfortable during the warmer months of the year.

The southernmost boundary of the highland settlement is presently marked by two parallel dirt roads leading to the new railroad station east of the city. At the moment, the railroad extends some 80 to 100 kilometers north of the city of Santa Cruz and will ultimately reach the Department of Beni to export beef from the region. Along the two dirt tracks numerous houses have sprung up, most of permanent construction but others of wood. Because of the transit through the area, several of these structures are chicherfas, and

others have a store in a front room. It is interesting that this zone has become the settlement site for many families from the agricultural colonies to the north, and especially for those from the Buen Retiro Colony. It is also significant that many of these inhabitants are females and children, the families of men who continue to live and work on their land. In other words, Montero has become an additional place of residence for many families rather than one which is subsequent to colonization.

#### The Phenomenon of Multiple Resource Migration

Throughout the rural lowland area, highlanders are engaging in what appears to be a unique form of migration, but one which when viewed in terms of cultural persistence is very much in keeping with traditional highland lifestyles. As was outlined in the first chapter, migration has been categorized into numerous types. These include rural-urban, urban-urban, rural-rural, urban-rural and all of their variations. There are also seasonal migrations, step migrations, migrations of a transitory nature and migrations which are permanent. All of the preceding normally have one element in common: the migratory unit, be it the individual, family, or community, is exploiting its resources

sequentially. That is, one habitat is abandoned in order to exploit the next. Granted, in many instances kinsmen and landholdings may be left behind, and periodic visits may be made, but in general the act of migration, according to the British sociologist J. A. Jackson, "implies an element of disassociation from the usual and familiar world, a transition and an involvement with a new environment, a new context of physical space" (Jackson 1969:9).

In the case of rural Santa Cruz, a new dimension has been introduced to migration processes. Many highland migrants are entering into a system of multiple resource migrations in which several economic niches are exploited simultaneously. As succeeding migrations are made, each preceding place of residence is not abandoned but continues to be maintained as a source of income with the result that disassociation fails to occur. The following account is presented as an example of this pattern.

Jorge Mamani, his wife, Susana, and their two children were contracted in their highland village to work in the cotton harvest. Jorge left his small house and one-half hectare of land in the care of his eldest brother who had the land contiguous to that of Jorge. During the harvest season the Mamanis were careful with their wages, buying very little food and no luxuries. Thus they were able to save enough money to purchase a small farm near the Yapacaní agricultural colony. After

two years, Jorge joined a land cooperative and through this organization was able to acquire an additional 50 hectares of land in the colony itself. He worked both parcels simultaneously, and Susana moved the family back and forth to help with the planting and harvesting. After five years in the lowlands, Susana and the children, now numbering four, migrated to Montero where Susana set up a vegetable stand in the central market. She rented a room for a few months from another highlander while Jorge built them a house in Villa Cochabamba. When the two-room structure was completed, one of the rooms was rented to a migrant and his family who had recently arrived in the lowlands.

Jorge continues to spend the majority of his time on their land, and Susana periodically visits the farm to bring in produce to sell in the city. Jorge comes into Montero on weekends to see his family and drink chicha in one of the many bars located in their neighborhood. Recently the Mamanis purchased an additional urban lot in the Villa and constructed from scrap lumber a small shack which is also rented to highlanders. Susana has secured a vegetable kiosk in the market area of the main settlement in the colony and pays a female cousin a percentage of the profits to run it for her. When Susana visits the colony she usually sleeps in the kiosk with her cousin rather than out on one of the

parcels because, as she complains, "it's too buggy out there."

Although the preceding case represents one of the more successful migrant families which has been accumulating capital over a period of several years, many other migrants are working toward similar goals and may be found at varying stages of property acquisition. Perhaps the most difficult transition for the migrant is from the initial stage of single resource to that of multiple resource exploitation. One migrant family interviewed labored six years in an agricultural colony before accumulating enough capital to purchase an additional house in a nearby town where the wife set up a store. Others may never make that initial transition, but when one talks with newly arrived highlanders, it is evident that most have aspirations of moving parts of the family to other localities in order to diversify and expand their earning capacity.

Whereas the Camba may participate in the custom of having both a rural and an urban residence, it is rare that the city home is conceived of primarily as a source of income. Rather, having the additional home represents both a convenience in that it provides an inexpensive shelter for children who may be studying in town, and a status symbol for an upwardly mobile farm family. The highlander, on the other hand, seems to be



concerned with the economic potential rather than the intrinsic value of the properties he obtains. As explained in preceding chapters, entrepreneurship is a characteristic of most highland migrants regardless of age, sex, or social status. However, in analyzing the particular case of rural Santa Cruz, multiple resource exploitation can be attributed not only to the tendency toward commercialization and capital accumulation, but also it would seem to be rooted in Andean culture history itself.

Although conquered and subjected first by the Inca and then by the Spaniard, the highland Indian retained intact what Murra has described as the vertical exploitation of numerous ecological niches (Murra 1972). Thus a single village would have access to products from the humid lowlands, grazing land on the high puna, farmlands in the fertile mountain valleys, and perhaps an oasis along the Pacific coast. Murra emphasizes that each zone was exploited by a permanent colony, or archipelago, sent out from the original nuclear settlement, and that a certain segment of the population remained in these archipelagos continually. Vertical ecological exploitation, then, was not a matter of seasonal migration or nomadic moves, but a system of simultaneous control of ecological levels (Murra 1972). Similar to Vayda and Suttles' interpretation of potlatching on the

northwest coast of North America as a "functional response to the problem of minimizing the effects of seasonal and long-term fluctuations in the productivity of the local group" (Harris 1968:313), Andean verticality gave each community access to a variety of staple foods and other commodities.

The basic structure of multiple resource exploitation as practiced in the Andean situation has been transported by highland migrants into the Bolivian lowlands; but elements within the structure have undergone a transformation. In a totally different cultural and environmental context, highland verticality has been converted to lowland horizontality. For the migrants are not faced with a need to exploit several ecological niches in different natural environments but rather are utilizing various economic niches within the same natural environment. Their resource exploitation is thus extended over a horizontal plane based on economic differentiation and not a vertical one of zonal ecological variation. The underlying structure, or that of permanent archipelagos, as Murra terms them, has not been altered. The highland migrant is not engaging in a type of seasonal migration or a typical rural-urban progression, but has established permanent residences in different locations in order to exploit simultaneously several economic niches. Thus a significant aspect of Andean culture has demonstrated not

only its persistence through time and space but also the ability to adapt successfully to a contextual change.

The system of multiple migration may follow any one of several strategies, combining urban and rural residence with variations in economic maintenance schemes. Hence numerous localities throughout the lowlands are participating as shared residences of highland migrants. It is Montero, nevertheless, which most often appears as an additional site of settlement in the phenomenon of multiple resource migration. Because of the combination of available and inexpensive urban land and commercial potential, Montero is high on the list of collateral settlement priorities.

#### Migrants in Montero

Twenty-six individuals were interviewed in Montero, selected from four areas of the city. The large market at the edge of the highway provided nine informants, the smaller Rosendo Paz market supplied five. Two female vendors selling in the streets near the plaza and 10 persons from the Villa Cochabamba sector completed the sample. Included in the migrant sample population are 20 females and six males.

Informants in Villa Cochabamba were chosen to include residents in the central neighborhood as well as

Table 26  
Informants - Sex

Sex	Absolute Frequency	Relative Frequency (%)
Male	6	23.0
Female	<u>20</u>	<u>77.0</u>
Total	26	100.0

those in peripheral areas to the east and south of the barrio. Although it would have been much more representative to have obtained a larger proportion of chichería operators, it was extremely difficult to gain entry to these establishments. All outsiders are suspect and, if not actually denied admittance, are simply ignored. Consequently, only two chicheras were interviewed, and much of the information concerning chicherías in Montero was supplied by these individuals or by other neighborhood residents. In the market areas, informants were selected by availability of the vendors and diversity of selling activities. The main market provided various types of informants including those selling produce, those engaged in merchandising, food and drink hawkers, and two coca sellers. Of the five individuals questioned in the Paz market, two were selling vegetables,

two dealt in dry goods, and the fifth operated a small brick kiosk on the east end of the market place. Two street vendors working in the plaza area were also included in the sample. Both were females sitting on the curb hawking produce. They were doing an excellent business and were not burdened with the nuisance of having to share their profits with the city treasury as did their market place counterparts. One did comment, however, that street vending is illegal and that she must move around a great deal to stay ahead of the authorities.

Because of its dual importance as a service center and as a gathering place for rural migrants, Montero should be attracting both urban and rural highlanders. Although the nonrandom sample may not be representative of the larger Montero population, it does point to the mixed nature of Montero migrants. Origins of the sample population are evenly spread over the categories of urban highland, rural highland, and rural-urban highland. The rural migrants slightly outnumber urban individuals as would be expected for an agriculturally based community such as Montero. The mean age of the sample population is 33.5 and lies mid-range between the Santa Cruz sample mean of 31 and the Warnes sample mean age which is 37. The age variance for the Montero informants is 9.1.

Table 27  
Migrant Origins

Origin	Absolute Frequency	Relative Frequency (%)
Rural	10	38.0
Rural-Urban	8	31.0
Urban	<u>8</u>	<u>31.0</u>
Total	26	100.0

Half of the sample population entered Montero via the harvest, and three of those eight persons with strictly urban backgrounds came to the lowlands initially to work as fieldhands. Four informants went directly into an agricultural colony where they continue to hold land, but they have also purchased or are in the process of purchasing urban dwellings in Montero. Another three had lowland farms but subsequently disposed of them to migrate to the city. Five individuals began marketing immediately, and one of the two chichería owners came to Montero expressly to set up a drinking establishment. The other is one of the three persons who began as agriculturalists, but she and her spouse have since liquidated their farm holdings to come to Montero to open a chichería.

Table 28  
Occupation Upon Arrival in Lowlands

Occupation	Absolute Frequency	Relative Frequency (%)
Harvesting	13	50.0
Farming	7	27.0
Marketing	5	19.0
Chicherfa Operation	<u>1</u>	<u>4.0</u>
Total	26	100.0

Montero, like Warnes, has the disadvantage of having a scarcity of agricultural land for the small farmer. Once again, agribusiness has introduced the trend of consolidating small landholdings to permit the more efficient exploitation of agricultural properties. The small farmer in Montero now works only the more marginal areas where, for one reason or another, plow agriculture is not economically feasible. Single males, therefore, or heads of families interested in establishing a small farm, must go elsewhere.

What Montero can provide is available employment for those rural individuals desiring to settle in an urban situation. At the moment, the laying of sewers and streets is occupying much of the unskilled labor coming out of the harvests. Two of the six males interviewed

are presently engaged in the loceta project, and five of the 14 spouses of female informants are similarly employed. Thus one-third of the total male sample population is working in the laying of sewers and streets in Montero. The remaining male informants and husbands of females interviewed fall into various occupational categories with farming (in absentia) and marketing most often cited.

Table 29  
Male Informants - Present Occupation

Occupation	Absolute Frequency	Relative Frequency (%)
Marketing	3	50.0
Albañil	2	33.0
Brick Maker	<u>1</u>	<u>17.0</u>
Total	6	100.0

It is also noteworthy that, as was the case in Santa Cruz, the word albañil (mason) is a generic term for anyone employed in the construction industry. Of the seven males who claimed albañil as a profession, only one was actually a mason. The others were working in the street project in any capacity from ditchdigger to hodcarrier.



Table 30  
Occupation of Male Spouse

Occupation	Absolute Frequency	Relative Frequency (%)
Albañil	5	36.0
Farmer	4	29.0
Chichería Operation	1	7.0
Barber	1	7.0
Brick Maker	1	7.0
Marketing	1	7.0
Unemployed	<u>1</u>	<u>7.0</u>
Total	14	100.0

Among the 20 females interviewed, 17 are employed in part-time or full-time marketing. Two are chichería operators and one is unemployed. The informant who presently is not working stated that she had been a market vendor, but that with four small children her marketing activities have been temporarily curtailed. Her husband is also a vendor and at the moment his income is adequate for their needs, she said. This informant, however, was adamant that she would return to her profession as soon as the children were older and could care for one another. Four of the spouses of married male informants are engaged in marketing, and the fifth is

unemployed. Thus 21 of the total female sample population of 25 are vendors in the markets of Montero.

Table 31  
Female Informants - Present Occupation

Occupation	Absolute Frequency	Relative Frequency (%)
Marketing	17	85.0
Chichería Operation	2	10.0
Unemployed	<u>1</u>	<u>5.0</u>
Total	20	100.0

Both chichería operators have a male in residence, one an ex-farmer who helps his wife in their drinking establishment and the other an albañil on the street project. This latter male is evidently a current paramour of the professional chichera since she did not once refer to him as her husband (esposo, marido), but employed more circumspect terms such as "el hombre que vive aquí" (the man who lives here) or "él que me ayuda" (he who helps me). The professional chicha vendor confirmed that many of her chichera neighbors came to Montero not to harvest but to take advantage of the business boom resulting from a large influx of seasonal migrants.

She also stated that other barrio women had opened chicherfas only after spending time on a farm or in the fields. It would seem, then, that Montero and Warnes are attracting both the itinerant chichera group as well as rural females who fall into chicha production and sale as an alternative occupation to field labor. According to other informants and the two chicheras, matrifocality along with sequential monogamous unions seem to be a pattern prevalent among many of the professional chichería owners in Montero as was also the case in Warnes.

Three of the female informants and their families are involved in some phase of multiple resource exploitation. They own a house and property in Montero but continue to work and reside periodically on the family's rural agricultural land. A fourth woman interviewed does not yet have a home in Montero but is in the process of purchasing a lot in addition to the farm holdings she and her family have in an agricultural colony. Two of the three resident females in this group rent out part of their dwellings to other migrants, and one owns another lot with a wood shack which is presently rented to a migrant family. All four informants knew of, or were acquainted with other inhabitants of Villa Cochabamba who are also involved in multiple residence ownership. One woman stood in her doorway and pointed to three houses nearby those owners travel back and forth among their various property holdings in town and country.

As one might surmise from the name of the highland barrio in Montero, Cochabamba is well represented in the city. Almost half of the migrants sampled listed Cochabamba (city or department) as their place of origin. Eight persons are from other highland regions but had lived in the city of Cochabamba before coming to Santa Cruz, underscoring this locality's importance as the jumping-off place for many highlanders who make their way to the lowlands. The remaining departments are fairly evenly represented, with Chuquisaca (Sucre) contributing a few more migrants than the others, a situation similar to that of Warnes and Santa Cruz.

Table 32  
Place of Origin  
(Department or District)

Origin	Absolute Frequency	Relative Frequency (%)
Cochabamba	12	46.2
Chuquisaca (Sucre)	4	15.4
La Paz	2	7.7
Tarija	2	7.7
Oruro	3	11.5
Potosí	<u>3</u>	<u>11.5</u>
Total	26	100.0

For a large segment of the individuals interviewed in Montero, migration to Santa Cruz was not their first experience with moving. Sixteen informants stated that they had lived in other areas of the Bolivian highlands since leaving their place of birth. While these moves on the analytical level may appear to be "steps" in either a geographic or economic sense, informants were not consciously aware of such a process. Although the migrant progression may be one which demonstrates a rural-urban trend or one which entails continual economic betterment, informants commented that they moved because their financial situation began to deteriorate. In other words, they viewed their movement as the result of negative factors rather than positive ones of economic improvement. Even so, many of those migrants interviewed who had experienced multiple changes of residence stated that they will freely move again should the need arise. These individuals did not consider frequent migrations either pathological or undesirable.

Once again, illiteracy was high among the migrant sample with 14 of the 26 informants in Montero reporting a lack of reading and writing skills. As was true for Santa Cruz and Warnes, females had a much higher rate of illiteracy than males, the result of differential access to education.

Table 33  
Illiteracy

Sex	Literate		Illiterate	
	Absolute Frequency	Relative Frequency (%)	Absolute Frequency	Relative Frequency (%)
Male	5	19.0	1	4.0
Female	<u>7</u>	<u>27.0</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>50.0</u>
Total	12	46.0	14	54.0

As was reported in the previous chapters, reasons for migrating to Santa Cruz were overwhelmingly economic. A large percentage of those individuals interviewed in Montero entered the lowlands via harvesting as would be expected for this area. Seven informants, however, commented that they also had come to the lowlands to find work, but that they preferred not to enter into field labor. This group is composed of market vendors and the professional chichera. Four persons cited the availability of land as their principal incentive for moving east; three of these individuals continue to hold rural as well as urban properties, while the fourth has severed economic ties with the hinterlands.

Family networks among highlanders in the lowlands seem to be well established, and only seven migrants in

Table 34  
Motives for Migration

Motive	Absolute Frequency	Relative Frequency (%)
To Find Work	7	27.0
To Harvest	12	46.0
To Obtain Land	4	15.0
To Accompany Relatives	<u>3</u>	<u>12.0</u>
Total	26	100.0

the sample reported no known kin in Santa Cruz. The presence of more than one member of any family in the lowlands may be attributed primarily to chain migration practices. It was very common for informants to state that, during visits to the interior, they would interest an uncle or cousin in accompanying them on the return trip. These relatives were often successful in obtaining employment in Santa Cruz and would later send for the remainder of the family.

Dress patterns among women interviewed followed the more rural orientation of Montero. In fact, one rarely sees a mature highland woman on the streets of Montero wearing mestizo dress. All of the men wore mestizo-style cotton clothing as is customary among

highland males in Santa Cruz. The pollera was preferred by the large majority of female informants, and in a city such as Montero, where highlanders are so numerous, there is little stigma in wearing traditional highland dress.

Table 35  
Dress Style

Sex	Traditional		Mestizo	
	Absolute Frequency	Relative Frequency (%)	Absolute Frequency	Relative Frequency (%)
Male	0	0.0	6	23.0
Female	<u>18</u>	<u>70.0</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>7.0</u>
Total	18	70.0	8	30.0

Rental and home ownership among the sample population in Montero are about equal, a situation similar to that encountered among the Santa Cruz informants. Both cities are recipients of a large influx of recent arrivals in the lowlands and current housing patterns would seem to be a reflection of this. Both localities also offer types of employment opportunities which permit continued urban residence for nonskilled laborers. Conversely, Warnes has little to offer in urban employment and can absorb only a limited number of permanent residents from



Table 36

## Housing

	Absolute Frequency	Relative Frequency (%)
Own	12	46.0
Rent	11	42.0
Live with Relative	1	4.0
Live in Kiosk	1	4.0
Not a Montero Resident	<u>1</u>	<u>4.0</u>
Total	26	100.0

the migrant ranks. Consequently, rental housing is not prevalent in Warnes. The relationship between housing patterns and migrant influx becomes even more apparent in rural communities which are not tied into the harvesting cycle or the wage labor market. Migrants in these towns tend to be few in number, unsegregated in housing patterns, and must, in a sense, move in on a space-available basis. Highlanders can acquire farmland or urban property only as Cambas leave to make room for them. The following chapter will explore the problems of highland migrants in a small rural town and how their survival is dependent upon participating in an already-established socioeconomic system and not upon the creation of one parallel to it.

## CHAPTER SIX

### SAN CARLOS: THE HIGHLAND MIGRANT IN A LOWLAND VILLAGE

Old Camba communities are probably the last domain in the lowlands to receive migrants from the interior of Bolivia. For many rural highland migrants, village life is a comfortable alternative to the urban pressures of larger centers such as Montero and yet affords many of the amenities which are absent in the colonies or on dispersed farmsteads. Any number of small northern Cruceñan communities would provide excellent insights into the process and impact of highland migration in a village situation, but because of the researcher's long-time acquaintance with one particular locality, it has been chosen to serve as an example of current settlement trends.

The township of San Carlos is situated 80 kilometers northwest of the city of Santa Cruz. At one time it had been a point of disembarkation for cattle drivers and rubber tappers heading north into the Beni and Pando regions. Now it must be content to be counted among the many small roadside communities scattered along the western branch of the paved highway from Montero.

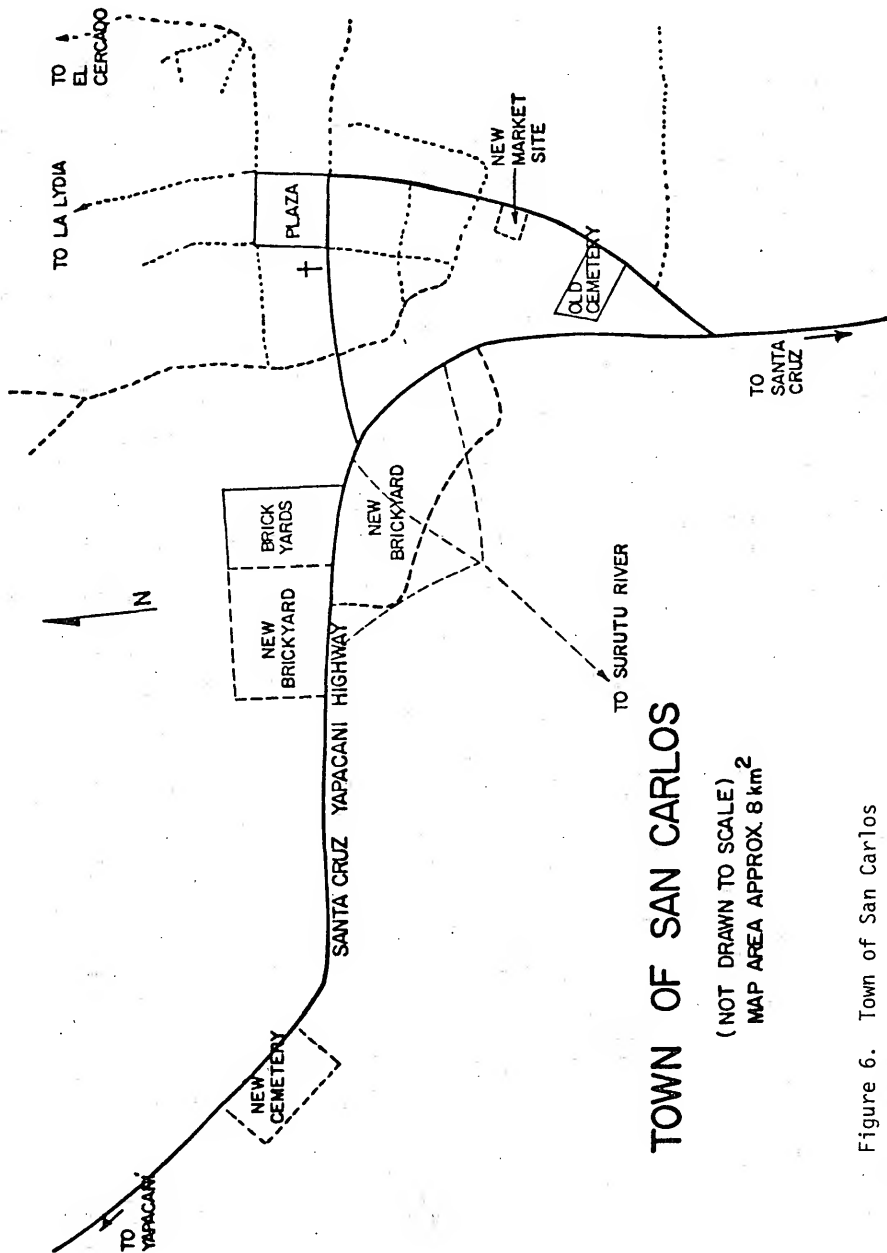


Figure 6. Town of San Carlos

San Carlos was founded in 1797 as part of a missionary effort spreading outward from Santa Cruz. The inhabitants of the village are the descendants of Yuracaré Indians, blacks from Brazil, Spanish settlers, and other indigenous and European groups who passed through the area from time to time. The community's population does not exceed 2,000 persons (Solari 1975) and almost all are campesino farmers. In its physical appearance, San Carlos is not much different from scores of similar Camba settlements. It has a main plaza, church, alcaldía, and streets set out on a grid pattern. The houses in the more prestigious plaza area uniformly are of masonry or whitewashed wattle-and-daub construction with Spanish tile roofs. As one moves farther from the center of town the houses become smaller and more rudely built. Unplastered pauhuichis with thatched roofs are the rule in the outskirts of San Carlos.

On the surface, Warnes and San Carlos are very similar to one another, but there is a significant difference between the two settlements. Warnes has become a town of commercial farmers, tied directly to the agribusiness enterprises in the surrounding region and dependent upon contract harvesting and wage labor. San Carlos, however, remains a community of small, independent farmers and ranchers, and only a handful of villagers have given up swidden horticulture in favor of mechanized

plow agriculture. Cotton has not yet made an appearance, and only one agriculturalist is exploiting sugarcane commercially. Local labor and family effort provide the necessary workers for the rice crop so there is no need for contract harvesters. The economic carrying capacity of the village is relatively stable, and population increase must be dealt with primarily through out-migration. In order for a highlander to move into San Carlos or its environs, a Camba must first vacate a house or farm.

Before 1969, not one highland family lived within the three-kilometer radius of San Carlos. By 1975 there were seven highland households present. Most of these migrants have taken up residence along the highway on the periphery of town, but one family has succeeded in purchasing a house on the corner of the plaza where a small store is now in operation. For highlanders to survive in a village which has no market place, no need of migrant farm hands, no chicherfas, and no public projects to absorb unskilled laborers, they must be competitive with Cambas in Camba areas of endeavor. Hence occupational options largely are limited to farming, storekeeping, or crafts, and economic expansion in San Carlos proceeds at such a negligible rate that most newcomers are replacements for urban-bound Cambas and not actual additions to the village. This implies at least partial integration into the community's social and economic structure, which

is no mean feat given the closed nature of San Carlos and the prejudice against highlanders which pervades the town.

Those highland residents who have secured small farms near San Carlos remain somewhat marginal in village society because the land provides for many of their needs. Still, the vagaries of agriculture and limited cash reserves will often require that food, medicine, or other supplies be acquired through a credit agreement with a storekeeper. The two migrants who have become store owners must participate more fully in the established socioeconomic system of the community in order to maintain their commercial viability. Since there are only seven highland families living permanently in San Carlos, highland storekeepers cannot depend merely on other highlanders for their clientele as is possible in such places as Santa Cruz, Montero, and even Warnes, where migrants are numerous. Whether store owner, farmer, or craftsman, then, the highland migrant in San Carlos is required to enter into village socioeconomic relationships.

#### Socioeconomic Structure of the Lowland Village

The socioeconomic system in the Camba village is at once, for the migrant, both difficult and easy to penetrate. The difficulty arises in establishing initial

relationships which, for an outsider such as a highland migrant, takes time and effort. The relative ease in entering the system lies in the integrative nature of the social and economic components. Thus, by moving into the social sphere through kinship or fictive kinship, or into the economic realm through commercial activity, both domains become readily accessible. It is a complex model but one which is well adapted to the particular demands of the village situation in the northern Santa Cruz region.

San Carlos rests atop a hill of red clay which town lore says was once a bank of the Surutú River. At present, that same river flows some five kilometers southwest of the village. To the north, west, and south of town lie the agricultural lands, covered with young, second-growth forest. The area east of San Carlos has been set aside for cattle ranching. Here, the forest breaks into pampa, extending for miles before the jungle once again closes in. Most of the landholdings in this zone are relatively large in comparison to those owned by the horticulturalists. The pasture is unimproved and normally will support no more than one head per three hectares. While ranching forms an important part of village economy, relatively few families are involved in this activity. The bulk of the population in and around San Carlos relies on horticulture for its

livelihood. The principal subsistence and cash crop is dry rice. It is grown on land prepared by cutting and burning off the vegetation, which serves both to clear the ground and to enrich the soil with mineral nutrients deposited in the ash. Only one rice crop per year is planted (usually during the wet months of September through December) and harvested five months later.

Other crops of secondary importance include corn, yuca (manioc), cacao, plantains, citrus, pineapple, and coffee. Such crops are valuable both in the additional income they represent, especially between harvests, and in providing the family with some variation in diet. Nevertheless, rice is the major economic mainstay in San Carlos and the greater part of village life is ruled by the demands imposed by its cultivation, for into the yearly planting cycle is woven the thread of village society, one inseparable from the other.

Although it is recognized that no person can exist without establishing a network of reciprocal obligations, the Sancarleño constantly guards against intrusion by others into what he feels is the sanctity of his individuality. Cooperation among groups of persons is unknown. It is only the dyadic relationship which can be trusted and this only because each partner is personally in control of the degree of obligation. Dyadic relationships or contracts, as Foster (1961)



would term them, are established in San Carlos primarily through bonds of fictive kinship by means of the institution known as *compadrazgo*. The manifest purpose of *compadrazgo* was to give a child godparents at baptism and thereby guarantee him a Christian upbringing should he be orphaned or neglected. Today, the religious significance still remains in ritual, but the social implications carry much more meaning. When a child is baptized, a bond is established between the child's parents and godparents. They become *compadres* for life. This relationship may form the basis for daily interactions, may only be activated upon occasion, or may never be activated. Sidney Mintz and Eric Wolf (1967:188) have described the *compadrazgo* as

a two-way social system which sets up reciprocal relations of variable complexity and solemnity. By imposing automatically, and with a varying degree of sanctity, statuses and obligations of a fixed nature on the people who participate, it makes the immediate social environment more stable, the participants more interdependent, and more secure.

In San Carlos, the choice of godparents for a child is made only after much deliberation. The chance to gain allies who are tied through recognized obligations of mutual aid must not be wasted. It is through the bond of fictive kinship that merchants and farmers, whether highland migrants or lowland Cambas, provide for their respective needs.

When a farmer requests that a merchant become the godparent of his child, the storekeeper will seldom refuse. First, it is a breach of tradition to turn down such a request. Second, by accepting another godchild, the merchant gains additional clients. The farmer's interest in the arrangement lies in the realm of the availability of a ready loan or commodities on credit. Existence in San Carlos is on a day-to-day basis, and economic disaster is a constant threat. When times are lean or an emergency occurs, assistance is sought through the merchant. As Arensberg has stated (1968:157), "the shopkeeper, as creditor, has the whip-hand. As an urbanite, he has the superior status. Yet he is no less under obligation to his debtor." This obligation is even stronger if it has been reinforced by ties of ritual kinship. If a compadre is in need, tradition demands that he not be refused. Thus it is an economic safeguard for the farmer to have at least one compadre who is a storekeeper.

For the merchant, numerous ritual bonds of kinship assure him a steady flow of customers. Much of the buying is on credit, which always poses something of a risk. If a creditor is also a compadre, however, the likelihood is much greater that the debt will be paid because the compadrazgo relationship is sacred and must not be defiled by failure to comply with recognized

reciprocal obligations. There are at least ten stores in the village, all carrying almost identical stock inventories. Prices between stores vary only slightly, and bargaining does not exist. Upon first examination, then, one might question how these shops manage to compete with one another, or why there is not one large outlet to service the entire community. Part of the explanation for the survival of these numerous small stores is to be found in the system of credit.

Similar situations have been reported for other parts of the world, and Barbara Ward's (1960) analysis of the credit system in Sarawak is especially relevant to the present case. In her study of the role of merchants and the multiplicity of traders, she found several factors influencing the continued success of the small store. First, as Ward explains, numerous similar stores are allowed to exist, often side by side, because of the service they render in giving credit. Several clients are tied to each merchant through credit obligations, and the fact that every store carries the same goods is irrelevant. Each shop caters to a rather fixed set of customers, all with similar needs, who have established credit there. Second, since the shopkeeper is normally operating on a limited amount of capital, the extension of credit over too wide a range would threaten his solvency. Third, the merchant must depend

on personal knowledge of his clients and their daily whereabouts as security for his investment. The number of debtors is therefore kept within the range of capital limitations and personal trust. As Ward has hypothesized,

in a population which depends upon a wide distribution of credit, no creditor can be expected to have more than a limited number of debtors, then necessarily that population must include (or have access to) a large number of creditors. (Ward 1960:144)

The case of San Carlos with its numerous small stores would seem to give further credence to this hypothesis.

As stated earlier, credit buying enables the migrant or Camba family to acquire food and other trade articles when cash income is only periodic. While many items secured in this manner are not absolutely necessary for physical survival, they are important to the peasant's sense of well-being. Kerosene for light, tobacco and alcohol as well as patent medicines all contribute some measure of creature comfort to a life fraught with hardship. Once credit has been established, the debt need never be paid off completely. A demonstration of good faith by continually giving small amounts to the merchant is all that is required. With numerous debtors paying in this manner the merchant can maintain enough capital to restock his store and still make a profit. It should also be noted that part of this dyadic relationship between merchant and farmer is dependent upon the

perpetuation of the debt. If the debt is entirely cancelled, the merchant is under no obligation to extend more credit to the client nor the client to return as a customer. The security of both would then be threatened.

Arensberg (1968:155) notes that

any credit system exists upon a peculiar state of mind in which expectancies are roughly balanced. Should all the debts be called in and all outstanding obligations mature at a single blow, the system would perforce come to an end.

Instances do occur, however, when credit extended is limited. If the merchant feels that a particular client has accumulated too large a deficit without at least a token payment, he will call in his debt. This always presents some risk, for the client may simply refuse to pay the amount or promise payment at some future time. However, since the nonpayment of a store debt readily becomes common knowledge, it would be difficult for the farmer to secure credit elsewhere in San Carlos. It therefore behooves him to maintain himself in good standing with his creditor.

For the majority of highland and lowland storekeepers in San Carlos, sale of merchandise is but one facet of enterprise. While daily sales will maintain a steady flow of income, it is in the area of rice speculation that most large profits are realized. Because of the labor-intensive nature of swidden horticulture,

one man is capable of clearing, planting and harvesting only about two hectares of rice per year. If the soil is fertile, the land may produce up to 12 fanegas (1,956 kilos) per hectare. However, most of the farmland in the environs of San Carlos has been cultivated year after year and yields seldom exceed six or eight fanegas. The amounts received from the sale of a season's harvest are often much less than what is needed to support a family. Coupled with the problem of poor harvests is that of having to sell when the market is glutted and prices are low. Most farmers cannot afford to hold their crop until prices rise enough to give them a wider profit margin, nor do they have adequate storage facilities.

In many cases, by the time a crop comes in, much of it may be owed to the merchant for credit or for loans received during the year prior to harvest. If the farmer is in need of cash, he may borrow a small amount from a merchant at no interest. The more common practice, however, is to sell part of a crop before it is planted. The storekeeper will pay only 120 pesos per fanega for rice sold in this manner. If the farmer has an extraordinary run of bad luck such as illness or injury, all of it may have been sold to the merchants by the time the crop is actually brought in. The lowest market price for rice never drops below 240 pesos per fanega,

so the shopkeeper is guaranteed at least to double his money. The peasant does not have the option of selling his rice at the market price and then returning the 120 pesos he borrowed since the rice is considered property of the merchant and must be delivered in kind. If the merchant can afford to hold his grain until the end of the season when rice is becoming scarce, he is likely to triple or quadruple his investment. It might also be mentioned that crops are often presold to pay existing or overdue debts. Thus the merchant is profiting twice from a single transaction: the money given for a fanega of unplanted rice is returned to the same shopkeeper to maintain good credit standing.

In defense of this apparent usury, the fact remains that the merchant is providing the peasant with a service unavailable elsewhere. Credit cooperatives have never had much success in San Carlos, perhaps because they offer no sense of "personalismo." The campesino does not like to deal with large institutions where the formation of dyadic relationships becomes impossible. The shopkeeper, on the other hand, is a single individual, most likely a compadre, and is in the position to supply cash immediately when the farmer is in need. The merchant also is taking a risk, albeit small, by purchasing a crop yet to be harvested or even planted. A drought or blight could leave the storekeeper overextended.

and without any cash reserves to see him through to the next harvest season when there is hope of recouping his loss.

Few if any Sancarleños operate outside of this complex system of socioeconomic interrelationships based on patronage, ritual kinship ties, credit negotiations, and crop speculation. The fragile village economy, which is subject to the unpredictabilities of near-subsistence agriculture, makes participation in this system necessary for highland migrant residents as well. They are also campesinos, struggling to make ends meet at the conclusion of each harvest season. The highland migrants in San Carlos are no more immune to the imminent threat of economic disaster than their Camba counterparts. To a greater or lesser degree, rural highlanders in a village situation must rely on the establishment of functional relationships with the dominant Camba sector to assure the continuation of their social and economic well-being.

The sample migrant population for San Carlos numbers seven informants, who also represent each highland household in the village. Because they are so few, it would be more productive to treat each migrant unit separately than as a contributing statistic to overall patterns of migration. Thus the degree of village socioeconomic participation can be analyzed in every case, and at the same time insights will be gained into the impact of highlanders on village society.



### The Migrants in San Carlos

#### The Batallanos Family

Sixto Batallanos, at age 33, left his small village near Potosí in 1965 to come to the lowlands. He had spent his life trying to eke out a living on a few hectares of rocky soil which barely provided enough for himself, his wife, and their two children. Two years before Sixto decided to migrate, his elder brother left for Santa Cruz and was successful in obtaining a parcel of land in the Yapaquí colony. The brother returned to the highlands for a short visit, and his tales of bountiful land convinced Sixto to sell his farm and move east. He left his 25-year-old wife, Aurora, and their children with her sister while he accompanied his brother into the lowlands. But Sixto was not as fortunate as he had hoped, and there was no free land being given out by the government. He began working in the colony as a day laborer and after six months had saved enough money to join a land cooperative which was trying to acquire some property near the Surutú River. The cooperative accomplished its objective. By the end of his first year in the lowlands, Sixto had 50 hectares of farmland and could send for his family.

Aurora and Sixto built a small house on their property and began to plant rice. They were fortunate in

that much of the 50-hectare tract they owned was virgin forest, and their crop yields were high. Both Batallanos worked diligently on the farm along with their children who now numbered four. Very little was spent on other than absolute necessities, and savings enabled Sixto to purchase another 25 hectares of land from a Camba in San Carlos. The Batallanos worked both pieces of property simultaneously, hiring helpers and living apart so that each spouse could oversee one parcel. It took the family eight years to accumulate enough capital finally to buy a residence in San Carlos, but when the time arrived they were able to pay US \$1,500 in cash for a house on the southeast corner of the plaza. The Camba owner, Aníbal González, decided to move permanently to the city of Santa Cruz, and the Batallanos were the first to appear with the money in hand. Later, Aníbal boasted that he had really "taken" the Kollas because the house was not worth much. Sixto commented that he knew he had paid too much, but the house was centrally located and would be an excellent site for his wife's store. He also knew that as a highlander, he would not have much bargaining power with Aníbal. If he wanted the residence, he would have to pay what was asked.

Sixto and his family were the first highlanders to move into the central district of San Carlos but were the second family from the interior to locate in the

village itself. The town's reaction was minimal. Kollas are not liked, but Camba independence and a lack of village solidarity combined to keep antagonisms from surfacing. Aurora opened a small store in the front room of their new house, and slowly her business began to build. A core of creditors was established, and soon she and Sixto were asked to become godparents of a Camba farmer's child. The Batallanos have not been accepted fully into village society and probably never will be, but their presence in San Carlos as an economically viable unit is acknowledged by all. Their participation in the community's socioeconomic system has assured the Batallanos a stable position within their sphere of activity.

Although the Batallanos now have a town residence, Sixto continues to work their two parcels of land. He is absent from San Carlos during the week, returning to his wife and family on weekends to visit, rest, and drink. Aurora is pleased to be out of the monte (high forest) and to be living in a situation where their children can finally attend school. Her husband can read and write a little, but she herself is illiterate. The Batallanos' offspring still are taunted by their Camba playmates and called "Kollas," but Aurora and Sixto are confident that this will pass in time and that the children will be accepted by their peers. Although Quechua is often spoken in the home, especially by the

parents, the children prefer to use Spanish. If a Camba is present, Spanish is always used by the Batallanos family. Sixto jokingly relates that his children are growing up Cambas, which he says is fine since they will probably never return to the interior. Both the Batallanos expect their offspring to eventually marry lowlanders.

Now Sixto and Aurora are talking of further expanding their resources by purchasing a lot in Montero to be used as rental property. If the children go to secondary school, they will require a place to live, Sixto explains, and a house in Montero would be an ideal choice. It would provide income as well as shelter for the Batallanos children. Aurora is also in favor of the plan since it will enable her to travel to Montero on buying trips for the store and to spend more time selecting her merchandise. She notes, however, that she has no intention of moving permanently to Montero. There is too much competition, and too many chicherfas where Sixto would be spending their money.

### The Ferrofino Family

Claudina and Jorge Ferrofino were the first highlanders to move into San Carlos. They have lived in the village for over five years and, of all the highland families in San Carlos, are the most integrated into village society. All three of the Ferrofino children were

born in La Lydia, a small farming community near San Carlos. Their godparents are San Carlos Cambas. In turn, Claudina and Jorge have been requested to serve as godparents for sons and daughters of Sancarleño lowlanders, and have established fictive kinship ties with 12 village families.

At age 24, Jorge came to Santa Cruz from Cochabamba in 1964 to work the cane harvest. He met Claudina, then 17 and also a Cochabambina, while she was marketing in Montero. When Jorge had enough money put by to purchase some farmland, he asked Claudina to marry him and they moved to La Lydia. For US \$300.00 Jorge was able to acquire 50 hectares of land which included several mature chocolate trees. At that time, he commented, property was inexpensive and not in much demand. Another 50-hectare parcel purchased several years later cost double the amount of the first. In all, the Ferrofinos own three parcels of land, totalling 125 hectares. After four years in La Lydia the Ferrofinos purchased a lot on the outskirts of San Carlos at a site known as the "Pico de Plancha." Here the highway from Montero veers to the left and the road into the village continues straight ahead, forming a triangle of land between the two thoroughfares which resembles the pointed front of a flat iron. The Ferrofino property is directly opposite the Pico, and so has the advantage of being located both

at the town's entrance and near the main highway. Claudina and Jorge built a substantial house of brick and opened a well-stocked store. Most of the other highland migrants in San Carlos buy from Claudina, and in two cases have formed ritual relationships with her family. Even so, the majority of the store's business is derived from Camba clients who have established fictive kinship as well as credit ties with the Ferrofinos.

Jorge owns two trucks which he uses to bring in farm produce and to collect the rice that has been sold to the Ferrofinos prior to harvest. Much of the year these vehicles remain idle while Jorge is out working the land since he does not want his trucks worn out from hauling cargo on contract. Other than their primary purpose of bringing in produce and owed rice, the trucks are used to carry merchandise for the store and to transport the Ferrofino rice to market when prices peak. Jorge and Claudina are deeply involved in rice speculation as are most Sancarleño merchants who have been in business long enough to establish the necessary networks. Their creditors and compadres, often one and the same, rely on the Ferrofinos for loans and a steady flow of supplies. These debt obligations are most commonly met by pre-selling crops to the highland couple. Jorge's trucks become a necessity at harvest time when debtors find it difficult to transport the rice they owe into town and

to the Ferrofino store. Not only a lack of adequate transportation facilities but also a reluctance to part with the fruits of a year's labor will keep many Sancarleño debtors from voluntarily surrendering their crops. Hence farm visits become vital if the Ferrofinos are to collect their due. Other storekeepers find themselves in the same predicament each year, and those without vehicles must pay the cost of renting a truck. One would think that with all the problems inherent in rice collection, store owners would be reluctant to enter into this annual struggle, but the profits earned are large enough to ensure the perpetuation of the rice-credit system. The campesino will hold out as long as possible, making the harvest season an interesting drama of wits and tempers that all deride, but one which only whets the appetite for a return engagement.

The Ferrofinos have been in the lowlands for about the same length of time as the Batallanos but have spent less of their stay in the monte among other highlanders. Consequently, Claudina and Jorge are more acculturated to the lowland lifestyle. Both wear mestizo clothing, and Claudina has given up the traditional double braid for a single braid down her back in the Camba style of hairdress. In contrast, Aurora Batallanos continues to use the pollera and double hair braid. The Ferrofinos also have lost much of their highland accent and are adept

at using lowland colloquialisms. Even so, Claudina is proud of her highland origins and has insisted that her children learn to speak Quechua.

Although the Ferrofino family has been in San Carlos for several years now, they are still referred to as "Kollas." It is a label which they will always carry, but one which does not necessarily have negative connotations. In the case of San Carlos, it is the town's way of identifying outsiders who happen to have highland roots. In the same manner, an aged German who had married a Sancarleña and who had lived in the village for over 30 years, to the day of his death was called simply "el gringo" (the stranger).

#### The Acuña Family

West of the village and at the bottom of the hill are located the San Carlos brick factories. Most of the Santa Cruz region is composed of sandy, alluvial soils, but interspersed here and there with the lighter soils are deposits of heavy clay. The village of San Carlos is situated near one of these infrequent deposits and consequently is the only source of fired brick for many of the neighboring towns. Three Camba families traditionally have held the rights to clay-bearing property in San Carlos, and these kin groups are also the town's brickmakers. Each brickyard employs two or



three laborers who are paid by the piece if they are moulding bricks or roof riles, or by the day if they are mixing clay, hauling sawdust for grog, or firing the kilns.

In 1972, Camelo Acuña, a 22-year-old Bolivian migrant working in a Buenos Aires brick factory, left Argentina and traveled to Santa Cruz. Carmelo, like hundreds of other Bolivians, had crossed the Argentine border illegally, and after two years he began experiencing problems because of his lack of proper documentation. Many migrants in a similar situation, especially those who had entered Argentina to work in the grape and cane harvests, were forced to return to Bolivia. But by this time word had spread that there was work in the fields of Santa Cruz and that the pay was good. Carmelo followed the harvesters to Santa Cruz, confident that he would find a suitable location to establish his own brickyard. The road eventually led to San Carlos, and there Carmelo encountered some pastureland for sale across the highway from the old clay pits. Upon examination, the pastureland revealed the presence of clay, so Carmelo purchased the site. It was somewhat of a surprise to the Camba brickmakers when Carmelo moved in and began to erect a kiln and dig holes in the middle of his pasture. By that time he had sent to Argentina for his wife and three children and had hired two men as assistants.

Carmelo's Camba competitors took it all in stride, however, since they had never been able to keep abreast of the demand for fired brick nor had they actually tried. Carmelo's entrance into the field of brickmaking was not viewed as a threat, therefore, but as a curiosity.

Carmelo, his 24-year-old wife Viviana, and their children have lived on the outskirts of San Carlos for less than two years. They have established a few credit ties with storekeepers in town, including with the Ferrofinos and Batallanos. As yet the Acuña's have no fictive kinship bonds with any of the villagers. Carmelo has initiated economic relationships with several Sancarleños who furnish him with firewood for his kilns, and he is now on friendly terms with the other brickmakers who pass on customers they are unable to serve.

Recently Carmelo purchased a plot of land adjacent to his pasture and has expanded his brick factory. Viviana's 19-year-old brother, Eusebio Correa, arrived from Potosí and with the help of Carmelo has erected a small house on the new property for himself and his new wife. He is now in charge of the second Acuña brickyard. But Eusebio's interests lie with farming, and as soon as he is able to acquire enough capital to buy some farmland, he will leave Carmelo's employ. Eusebio likes the village of San Carlos and is hopeful that he can find some property nearby.

Although Viviana admits that the family is doing well in San Carlos, she complains of the heat, insects, and rude living conditions. Viviana nevertheless feels that she will be "stuck" in San Carlos for some time. The highlands have little to offer, and there is not much hope of returning to Argentina. Viviana had a taste of urban life in Buenos Aires and so justifiably finds the village situation close to intolerable. Carmelo also is discontent with the relative quiet of San Carlos after having experienced the noise and activity of a large metropolitan area, but he seems to be adjusting to his new environment more readily than his wife. This may be due in large part to Carmelo's incipient efforts to participate in village socioeconomic networks. Viviana, however, has remained aloof from the Camba villagers and from the other highland residents as well. Her integration into the San Carlos social sphere will be greatly protracted, if it occurs at all.

#### The Cáceres Family

Lucía Cáceres is a small, 26-year-old woman who dresses in the traditional highland manner. She and her husband, Julián, who is also 26, are rural folk from Cochabamba. At present they are living two kilometers south of San Carlos in a house purchased from Gerónimo León. Gerónimo decided at age 63 to give up farming and

move the family to the city of Santa Cruz. He now owns a small house in a Camba migrant barrio and works as a day laborer on construction projects. Lucía and Julián Cáceres do not own the old León property but are the caseros (caretakers) for Julián's brother. The brother presently is occupied with his farm near the Surutú River. The León house and 30 hectares of land that surround it seemed like a good bargain, so he decided to make the purchase. Julián's brother has intentions of sending his wife and children to the house in San Carlos in the near future, but in the meantime Julián and Lucía have been allowed to live there.

The Cáceres have resided in San Carlos for three years. They have one male child whose godparents are the Ferrofinos. Lucía speaks Spanish with some difficulty and depends on Claudina Ferrofino as her primary communication link with the rest of the village. Other than their kinship and credit ties with the Ferrofinos, the Cáceres have established credit with Darío Zabala, a Camba storekeeper near their home. From time to time Julián will do odd jobs for Darío to help meet the Cáceres' debt obligations. When the Cáceres have another child, they intend to ask the Zabalas to become compadres.

Julián came to Santa Cruz in 1969 to work in the cotton harvest. Lucía was a field cook. They met and were married. Their first place of residence was with

Julián's brother on the land at the Surutú River. Julián helped with the clearing and planting along with the harvest and was given food and a share of the crop in return for his labor. When Julián's brother purchased the San Carlos property, Julián was charged with the task of caring for the house and land.

Lucía raises vegetables around the house, and Julián plants corn and yuca on a few of the 30 hectares. The land has been cropped too often for rice. When the new market place is opened in San Carlos, Lucía would like to try to get a stall to sell produce on a regular basis. Julián is awaiting the day when they will have saved enough money to buy their own farm in the lowlands.

#### The Castillo Family

Nicanor Castillo came to the lowlands from Sucre as a youth to work in the sugarcane harvest. He married Rosa Suárez, 23, a Camba woman from Mineros and then settled in his wife's hometown for awhile, hiring out as a farmhand. In 1971 the couple moved to San Carlos where they purchased a small farm located beside the highway some three kilometers west of the village. Nicanor, now 28, plants rice each year but in addition has found work across the road on Captain Rodolfo Galindo's farm. Galindo, a retired airline pilot from Cochabamba, is the sole commercial sugarcane grower in San Carlos.

Nicanor is frequently hired by him to help weed or cut cane. The Castillos also belong to a land cooperative, and Nicanor is hopeful that he will be able to acquire some good virgin forest near the Ichilo River. The route to the property traverses 60 kilometers of bad road, impassible during the rainy season. But there are rumors that the gravel highway through the Yapacanf colony will be extended to include this sector. If this does happen, Nicanor feels that the land will be well worth the investment. If no road is completed, it would be futile to even try to clear and plant the property since there would be little chance that any of the rice produced would ever reach market.

In the meantime, the Castillos continue to farm the second-growth forest on their San Carlos land. Rosa makes bread and sells it to a shopkeeper in town to help with the family's expenses. They have established credit at three stores, including the one where Rosa leaves her bread. Their youngest daughter is the ahijada (goddaughter) of the Ferrofinos, but as yet the Castillos have not entered into a credit relationship with the highland storekeepers. It is almost five kilometers from the Castillo house to the Ferrofino store, so it has been more practical to initiate credit ties with nearby Camba store owners. In the event of an emergency, Nicanor is confident that he may call on Jorge Ferrofino for assistance.

Rosa and Nicanor have served as godparents for the children of two neighboring Camba families, both of comparable economic status to the Castillos. These fictive kinship bonds evolved out of work partnerships between Nicanor and his neighbors. It is common for lowlanders to agree to work a piece of land *al partido*, whereby each participant will contribute labor, food, or money in predetermined shares. At harvest time the crop is divided according to the investment of each partner. Nicanor prefers the *al partido* method to working his land alone, since more time is then available for wage labor on the Galindo farm. With his two neighbors as *compadres*, Nicanor is assured seasonal assistance in his own fields, but he is also expected to reciprocate by lending a hand when the need arises.

#### Captain Rodolfo Galindo

Rodolfo Galindo was born in Cochabamba in 1915, the son of a well-to-do landed family. At 16, he was sent to Germany to learn to be a pilot, but Rodolfo returned to Bolivia just one year later to accompany the three Junkers airplanes purchased by Simón Patiño for the war effort against the Paraguayans. At age 17 Galindo entered the Bolivian army as a pilot and began flying missions in the Chaco War. When hostilities ended, the young flier was hired by Lloyd Aereo Boliviano to fly

commercial airliners. During his career as a pilot, Galindo was also involved in national politics and claims to be one of the original 20 men who founded the MNR (Movimiento Nacional Revolucionario). According to Rodolfo, the 1952 revolution was to have been an "orderly" reform, but the campesinos in Cochabamba took hold of the movement, and violence broke out. Ironically, it was the MNR which divested Galindo and his family of their property holdings in the Cochabamba Valley. At age 60 Rodolfo Galindo is able to reminisce about his experiences in politics without emotion. Age and time seem to have healed many of the wounds of more turbulent years.

Rodolfo Galindo first came to Santa Cruz in 1933 when the city had only 18,000 inhabitants. As a young, wartime pilot he was a colorful and intriguing figure in this rustic frontier town. Doors were opened to him at every house, and by his own account all the eligible young women of Santa Cruz were throwing themselves at his feet. In spite of all this attention, Rodolfo did return to Cochabamba where he eventually married a childhood friend and settled his household.

In 1937 the Lloyd pilot acquired 120 hectares of land which now lie between the second and third anillos in the city of Santa Cruz. The Urban Reform Law forced him to liquidate these holdings, but Galindo made an



enormous profit from this now valuable land. He is a wealthy man today, with two sons studying in the United States and a daughter enrolled at a German university. Needless to say, the Capitán is not a typical migrant and views his presence in San Carlos as a secluded retirement. Even so, Galindo has always approached any new project with the intent that it will net him some profit. Thus, when he bought 82 hectares of land fronting on the paved highway three kilometers from San Carlos, Rodolfo was not content to become an idle gentleman farmer. He immediately ordered land cleared and put to sugarcane. In order to get the highest price for his product, Galindo must truck the cane to the San Aurelio mill, over 100 kilometers from his farm.

Rodolfo Galindo no longer lives with his wife who is currently visiting one of their sons in Miami. In his San Carlos home lives a young woman who acts as housekeeper and companion. She runs the house for him, does the laundry and cooking as well as the daily marketing. Galindo has very little to do with the village, never purchasing commodities with credit. But then he is in a situation where alliances within the socio-economic network are unnecessary.

### Things to Come

Aside from those seven migrant households living in San Carlos, there are also several women who come in each day from the Yapacani colony and Buen Retiro to hawk vegetables grown on their land. They arrive early in the morning and are gone before noon, having sold their few baskets of produce to the women of San Carlos. When the proposed San Carlos market is completed, these highland vendors are planning on opening stalls there and eventually may migrate to the village if property is available.

Construction is due to begin on the San Carlos market, the first open market in village history, in April, 1976. Funds have been collected by the residents and matched by Obras Públicas which is also supplying the plans and technical assistance. When the market is completed, the face of San Carlos will begin to change. From a small, undifferentiated agricultural community it will be converted into a subregional marketing center. Perhaps most importantly, the number of highlanders in the village may be expected to increase significantly. Although lowlanders initially may dominate the market scene, highlanders will quickly gain control of the enterprise if San Carlos follows the trend of other Camba towns such as Warnes and Montero. Once the market is

firmly in the hands of highland vendors, the appearance of the town's first chichería will not be far distant. There will be opposition, no doubt, to the changes occurring in the old village, but the transition from a predominantly Camba settlement to an integrated community of highlanders and lowlanders is inevitable. Small rural villages like San Carlos have a greater hope of achieving this integration because immigration is proceeding at a relatively constant pace. Unlike Warnes, which has experienced a rapid influx of migrants and as a result has developed new and segregated neighborhoods, San Carlos is absorbing highlanders at a fairly even rate and is receiving them into the existing village structure.

Three of the seven migrant families presently living in San Carlos arrived in the village after first having worked farms in the hinterlands. Of these three, two came out of agricultural colonies. Colonial settlement, second only to working in the harvests, provides the major motive for migration by the rural highlander. Unlike the previous four study locations, Santa Cruz, Warnes, Montero and San Carlos, where the migrant belonged to a minority group, the colonies are a highland domain. The agricultural colonies represent the final and most remote of migrant settlement sites to be discussed.

## CHAPTER SEVEN

### THE AGRICULTURAL COLONIES

Until the 20th century, Bolivia's vast lowland region remained not only isolated, but virtually unknown to the rest of the nation and to the world. Except for a small mestizo population and scattered groups of aborigines, the eastern reaches were reserved for adventurers, political exiles and criminals. For many, the lowlands meant uninhabitable jungles filled with fierce wild animals, swamps ridden with insects and disease, and uncivilized territories characterized by savages hiding behind every tree. Such works as Julian Duguid's Green Hell were held up as examples of the terror and danger that awaited anyone foolish or unfortunate enough to travel into the Amazon basin. But those who knew the area were also appreciative of its great natural wealth. The land was productive, there were limitless expanses of grasslands for cattle, and the forests held unimagined riches in hardwoods. Later, petroleum would be discovered, adding to the promise of the eastern wilderness. As the result of explorers' journals and missionary reports a vague awareness of the

potential of the lowlands has always been part of the folklore of Bolivia, but it was not until the Social Revolution of 1952 that the Bolivian government began seriously to consider the eastern region as anything other than a dumping ground for undesirables.

The new revolutionary government inherited many of the problems which had plagued its predecessors and created some new ones as well. The Agrarian Reform gave the peasants control of the land they had tilled in usufruct for generations, but many individuals remained without adequate farm property to meet even basic subsistence needs. The mine-centered economy of the nation had made millionaires of a few and enslaved thousands, but nationalization proved only to increase operating costs through featherbedding and to lower production (Zondag 1968). At the same time, Bolivia was wrestling with a long history of insurrection and unrest on the part of its eastern inhabitants, and the achievement of national integration became yet another problem to be resolved. In 1954 a paved highway was pushed through to the capital city of the largest lowland department, Santa Cruz. The opening of the road was only a first step in realizing the goals of the revolutionary government to increase agricultural production, exploit lowland oil deposits, create new opportunities for the highland peasant, and, hopefully,

to unite for the first time the highland and lowland dominions of the Bolivian nation. Once the highway was inaugurated, relocation programs were commenced and army units were sent to Santa Cruz to open territory for colonization by campesinos from the interior.

### Colonization in Santa Cruz

From 1954 to 1956, four agricultural colonies were begun in Santa Cruz. The first, Aroma, located 15 kilometers northeast of Montero, was initiated by two individuals and later taken over by the Corporación Boliviana de Fomento (CBF). The latter agency supplanted the military's Colonial Division, previously charged with the lowland resettlement operation. Although the administration of colonial affairs eventually was transferred to civil authority, the military continued to provide manpower and equipment for land clearing efforts. Then too, many of the officials appointed by CBF to perform administrative roles in the colonies were military or ex-military personnel.

Aroma colonists were required to volunteer three two-month terms of labor in land clearing, house construction, and road building in order to qualify for 25 hectares of land. CBF provided them with food and tools during this initial settlement period. Later, technical

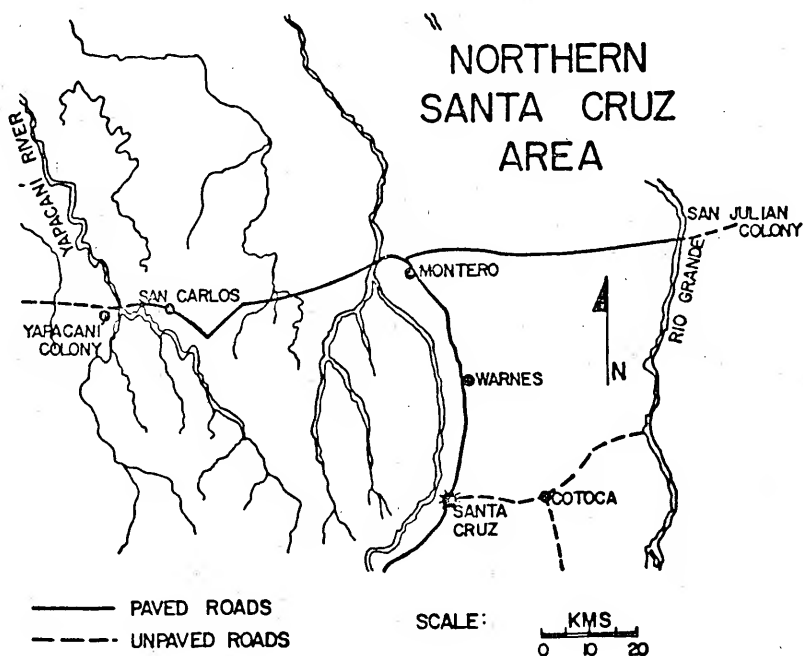


Figure 7. Northern Santa Cruz Area

and medical assistance were made available. By the end of the decade, 200 families had been settled in Aroma. Still, the attrition rate was high, and according to one source, "approximately 60% of these colonists returned to their place of origin" (Ferragut 1961:130). But those who vacated their land were replaced by others, and today Aroma continues as a small agricultural community of about 240 families (Crist and Nissley 1973:137). All assistance has been withdrawn from the colony which is now inhabited by highland campesinos working their land not as colonists, but as individual, self-reliant farmers.

The colonies of Cuatro Ojitos and Huaytú were begun by the military in 1955 and 1956, respectively, soon after the establishment of Aroma. These settlements were ambitious projects initiated by sending in four army battalions to build roads and bridges, erect houses and schools, clear farmland, and sink potable water wells. The highland soldiers who accomplished the task of clearing were to be the recipients of the tracts of land opened for settlement. Civilian highlanders working in lowland canefields were also given an opportunity to claim a parcel in the new colonies. CBF replaced the army in 1958, but military advisors and 900 soldiers continued to execute the program. Attrition again was high, and only 10 per cent of the conscripts actually



settled on parcels. Over half of the colonists were civilians, primarily ex-harvesters of sugarcane. Both colonies are now under civil authority with a total of 600 families in Cuatro Ojitos and 170 families in Huaytú (Crist and Nissley 1973:138).

In 1958 the Bolivian army began widening the trail from the Yapacaní River to Puerto Grether on the Río Ichilo with the intent of establishing another colony. This location had been an early settlement site for lowland agriculturalists, but the distance to market coupled with the difficulty of crossing the unpredictable flood-prone Yapacaní River had left the area virtually uninhabited. A few Cambas continued to live in the main settlement three kilometers from the river, most earning their livelihood by hunting animals for pelts and by fishing.

Highlanders at first were slow to arrive in the Yapacaní colony. Many quickly became discouraged and returned to their places of origin or sought farmland in less remote areas. As with other colonies at the time, CBF administered settlement procedures in the Yapacaní. Technical assistance and small loans were available to the colonists, but without market access they faced only continual indebtedness and incredible hardships.

During the initial years of government efforts at resettlement, foreign groups as well as Bolivian highlanders were encouraged to colonize the lowlands. In 1954, 50 Volga-German Mennonites arrived in Santa Cruz. They were followed in 1958 by another 50 Dutch-German Mennonite families and, in 1964, an additional 54 families from this same European religious group settled in Cruceñan territory. The Mennonites were guaranteed religious freedom, exemption from military service, the right to operate their own schools, and duty-free access to farm equipment. In the late 1950's more than 3,000 Old Colony Mennonites arrived from a parent colony in Mexico (Lanning 1971). These settlers located in an arid zone to the south of Santa Cruz where, in spite of environmental difficulties, they established productive farm units. All of the Mennonite colonies have resisted any form of assimilation into lowland Bolivian society. Marriage outside of the religious sect is prohibited, and only the males are taught Spanish for marketing purposes.

Mennonites may be seen on weekdays roaming the streets of Santa Cruz in groups of four or five, dressed in their traditional 19th century garb of dark shirts and overalls for the men and long, cotton print dresses for the women. They arrive in horse-drawn wagons which are driven down the main thoroughfares of the city, every

vehicle loaded with cheese, eggs, chickens and vegetables bound for the market places of Santa Cruz. On each wagon is seated a family of sunburned, fair-haired, blue-eyed Mennonites, ready for a serious day of buying and selling in the departmental capital. Economic transactions at the local level constitute the entirety of Mennonite participation in regional or national affairs.

In addition to the Mennonite settlers, the Bolivian oriente has been the recipient of several hundred Japanese and Okinawan migrant families. On August 2, 1956, an agreement which provided 35,000 hectares of land for Japanese colonization was signed between the governments of Japan and Bolivia (Thompson 1968:201). By June 1965, the new San Juan colony comprised some 262 households of 1,546 individuals. Because of its location directly opposite the Yapacaní colony but on the near side of the river, the San Juan settlement suffered many of the same problems as the fledgling CBF project. During the initial years of Japanese colonization in San Juan, much of the rice produced remained in homes and storehouses, unable to be shipped to market. The road out from the colony was unimproved and virtually impassible when wet. Once the main highway to Montero was reached, another five or six hours' travel were necessary to arrive at lowland markets. In spite of tremendous obstacles, the colonists persisted in their

efforts to wrest a living from the wilderness, and in recent years most have prospered. The improvement of the colonial feeder road combined with the paving of the Montero-Yapacaní highway have given the Japanese of San Juan expectations of continued success.

Another agreement among the Bolivian, Okinawan, and U. S. governments opened land east of Montero for Okinawan settlements. Three colonies have been founded by the island agriculturalists, and with the paving of the road which passes through Okinawan territory to the Río Grande, the colonies have attained permanence. The Okinawans number 515 families (Crist and Nissley 1973:148) and are engaged in rice, cane and cotton production. Unlike the Mennonites, the Japanese and Okinawans have intermarried with Cambas as well as with highlanders residing in the lowlands. Spanish is taught in their schools and children are enculturated with Bolivian as well as Japanese or Okinawan social mores.

By the beginning of the 1960's, the efforts of the Bolivian government to establish viable agricultural colonies of highlanders began to falter. In many instances, colonies had been opened for settlement before adequate market routes were made available, leaving the settler cut off not only from market places, but also from medical, educational, and social support. The colonies became known as ends-of-the-earth propositions,

avoided by scores of prospective migrants. Colonists were abandoning their homesteads to return to the interior or to search for more accessible farmland. Those who did seek land in the colonies were only the most destitute, desperate highlanders.

The entrance of the 1960's also witnessed the failure of other projects initiated by the revolutionary government. In many cases, railroad construction was halted only a few kilometers from the starting point; hydroelectric dams were erected where water supplies were inadequate for operation; agricultural extension stations were built and abandoned because of lack of funding. Much of the fault lay with the poor coordination among the various government agencies and the absence of a directive office in charge of long-range national planning. As a result of these deficiencies, the Junta Nacional de Planeamiento was formed in 1962 with technical advisors supplied by the United Nations. Once again, problems arose from a lack of articulation with other governmental bureaucracies, and a subsequent reorganization of the Junta occurred. The agency was taken from direct control by the President and placed under the direction of the Ministerio de Planeamiento y Coordinación, the Consejo Nacional de Economía y Desarrollo Social, and the regional planning offices (Zondag 1968:263). The old Junta became the Servicio de Planeamiento.

One of the principal tasks of the new Servicio was to implement the recently enacted ten-year plan for economic development, the Plan Nacional de Desarrollo Económico y Social, covering the period 1962-1971. The Plan dealt with all sectors of the economy including the major problem areas, mining and agriculture. In order to increase agricultural production and at the same time provide an escape valve for increasing labor pressures in the mines, the economic development program called for additional efforts to colonize the lowlands. An ambitious settlement program was devised which would be centered in three lowland regions: the Alto Beni east of La Paz, the Chapare east of Cochabamba, and the Yapacaní northwest of Santa Cruz. Loans were obtained from the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) and from other nations, primarily the U. S., to finance road building, land clearing, and resettlement of highland miners and campesinos. The colonization program proposed a resettlement of 8,000-10,000 families over a ten-year period at an initial cost of US \$6,500,000 (IDB 1970). The Corporación Boliviana de Fomento was to administer the project (INC 1970:8). By 1969, settlement expenditures had reached 9.1 million dollars but only 4,984 families had been relocated (IDB 1970). In the meantime, CBF had been superseded by the newly organized Instituto Nacional de Colonización, brought

into existence by supreme decree on June 28, 1965 (INC 1970:9). All colonization activities were thereby centralized into a specific agency whose sole field of endeavor involved the opening and settlement of new lands.

The three colonies were plagued with numerous problems including transient administrators, charges of graft, improper allocation of foodstuffs and excessive paternalism. At one point, the attrition rate for the Yapacaní colony reached 90 per cent (IDB-Bolivia 1971). The ten-year plan ended in 1971 at which time the lowland colonies lost financial support from the government. In the three areas combined, 5,055 families had been settled as of 1970 (Galleguillos 1970:3). Abandonment rates for the 1962-1971 period varied from over 50 per cent for the Alto Beni project to 33 per cent for the Yapacaní (Galleguillos 1970:4-6). Still, the figures for abandonment can be somewhat misleading. They represent a turnover in population, not vacant land. At present, the colonies are filled to capacity. In other words, what is lacking is not an absolute number of settlers, but rather a stable population of colonists who have remained on their parcels since arrival.

Colonization has been viewed traditionally as a permanent form of resettlement with success or failure measured in terms of the number of colonists who retain or abandon their property. Planners and administrators

of colonization projects have yet to recognize either the role that colonization plays in the scheme of regional migration strategies or the function of migration in the present system of agricultural production. Officials have focused upon short-range objectives rather than upon long-range economic goals. They have continued to consider only the individual colonist rather than the larger context of land use patterns and socioeconomic processes. For example, Thomas Roydan and Boyd Wennergren, employees of USAID-Bolivia, have stated

The settling and clearing of state land and the subsequent sale of the partially improved property is emerging as a way of life for spontaneous colonists, such as those who will have migrated successfully to new frontier areas twice in the last ten years. The colonist frequently has contributed to the development of someone else's production unit, while making limited progress towards improving his own economic and social status. While the commercial farmer expands his production, the colonist achieves little more than survival and a subsistence level of living. It should be noted, however, that such development patterns are not uncommon in opening and settling virgin land areas. The spontaneous and mobile colonizer performs the role of making the initial clearing and settlement of the new area. (Royden and Wennergren 1973:72)

The colonist is thus portrayed as the pawn of the commercial agriculturalist and the victim of an unjust social system. Yet this same situation applies to Camba farmers as well and has contributed significantly to the



economic growth of the department. The small farmer is restricted to slash-and-burn horticulture. He has neither the land nor the capital to do much else. As long as there is high forest available, campesinos will continue to make their living from progressional cropping practices. Each year the frontier is pushed farther into the jungle, the most intrepid agriculturalists working the most remote lands. As yields begin to decrease in an area, the farmer moves on to better acreage.

The second-growth forest is sold to those individuals who do not want to gamble on the insecurities and hardships of a wilderness outpost or to those who might be termed "secondary" colonists. They purchase land which has been cropped at least once and which no longer gives the same yields as virgin territory. After the land has been planted repeatedly until only pasture will grow on the impoverished soils, the secondary colonist also sells out and moves on. At this point tracts are purchased by agribusiness consortia and are consolidated into large landholdings for cattle or commercial farming. These enterprises have the capital resources to exploit the already cleared land by mechanized plow-agriculture and to apply expensive imported fertilizers to restore the soil.

Objections have been raised by observers that this land-use succession ultimately will lead to the demise

of the small farmer who will one day reach the limits of the moving frontier. Furthermore it has been maintained that the campesino is serving only as an inexpensive land-clearing machine. These observations are valid, but the problem of viable alternatives remains. Colonists who rely upon swidden agriculture simply cannot survive economically if they are confined to one small parcel of land, for they must move on when the land is depleted or grasses invade. At a national level, it is extremely difficult for any country to move toward economic self-reliance with the majority of its population engaged in subsistence-oriented agriculture.

According to government officials, Bolivia's present hope of breaking out of shifting agriculture is cooperativism whereby groups of campesinos are organized into production units capable of bearing the costs of mechanized farming procedures. If cooperatives fail, the succession leading to large-scale commercial farming is inevitable. However, the eventual outcome of this trend would seem to be the formation of an agricultural proletariat to absorb the frontiersmen who have exhausted their frontier. But until that happens, colonization will continue to spearhead the land settlement movement, and government officials and loan agencies will persist in their unrealistic demands that people stay put.

Since 1971 the Instituto Nacional de Colonización has continued to supply administrative assistance to colonial centers, but there have been no repetitions of the ambitious settlement projects characterizing the 1960's. Colonization at present is spontaneous, with the INC supplying primarily secondary or tertiary roads, some technical assistance, water, and schools in some localities. Other agencies such as the Iglesias Unidas of Montero and the World Food Program are contributing assistance in the form of technical aid and foodstuffs for the colonists.

In 1975 the United States and the West German governments financed the construction of two gravel roads west of the Río Grande in the post-1969 flood settlements of Chané-Piray and through the new San Julián Colony. In addition, USAID has provided the INC with US \$200,000 to fund the relocation of 4,000 highlanders over a five-year period in San Julián. This latter settlement program commences officially in 1976 although nine colony zones or nucleos have already been established. In contrast to projects of the past, San Julián is receiving minimal monetary support, and the majority of the colonists are ex-harvesters rather than highlanders brought directly from the interior.

In the Santa Cruz region, active colonization is occurring only in the Chané-Piray and San Julián sectors.

The remaining colonies, including the Yapacaní, have all become, or are in the process of becoming, agricultural communities under civil authority and local control. As new lands are opened, the INC will continue to provide infrastructure and initial technical assistance in concert with the church-affiliated and international agencies involved in resettlement programs. Even so, the primary emphasis today is on the provision of land and market access. Paternalism has been replaced by individual colonist initiative. Prospective settlers no longer are dragged out of the highlands and thrust unprepared into the wilderness. The present-day colonist tends to be an agriculturalist, an ex-harvester and an individual who is eager to obtain a parcel of Cruceño farmland.

The rapid expansion of the lowland economy, higher and more stable prices for agricultural produce, and better market roads have given value to much of the hinterlands of the northern Santa Cruz region. No longer are the colonies viewed as a type of purgatory, but rather as areas of extremely desirable agricultural land. Unlike the early days of colonial planning and the almost Shanghai tactics employed to obtain settlers, the active colonies now have people waiting in line to receive property. Land cooperatives have become popular as alternative means of acquiring high forest by direct solicitation to the government. The great numbers of

highlanders in the Santa Cruz region who are seeking arable land in the vicinity of market routes have brought about the introduction of "sooning" to the lowlands. As quickly as word or rumor spreads that a road is to be opened, cooperatives jump the land before actual allocation is made. The battle then begins to make legal their claims, but most cooperatives are able to rally their membership into paying additional quotas to provide for the necessary bureaucratic adjustments.

The situation in the agricultural colonies might be better understood by looking at specific cases. For the present study, two colonies were selected for analysis. The first was the Yapacaní which had the longest and most costly history of settlement. The researcher visited this colony on numerous occasions from 1964 to 1968 and again in 1975, making diachronic comparisons possible. The second site was the new San Julián colony which probably exemplified more recent trends in colonization procedures as well as characteristics of those settlers presently attracted to colonial life.

#### The Yapacaní Colony

In 1964 the gravel-surfaced highway north from Montero branched in two directions near the Guabirá sugar refinery, the western road leading to the Yapacaní River

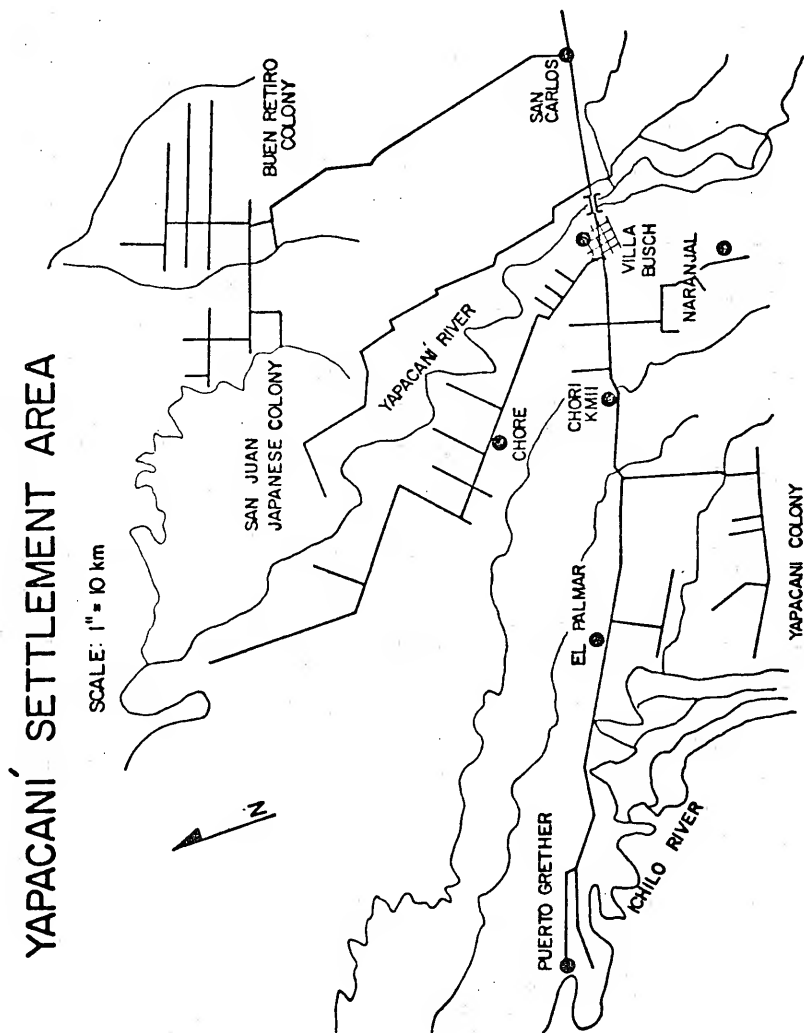


Figure 8. Yapacani Settlement Area

where it terminated. At the river's edge a few pilings could be seen--remnants of recent unsuccessful efforts to span the watery obstacle. On the far side lay the Yapacaní colony, consisting of 10-, 20-, and 50-hectare parcels strung out along a 62-kilometer stretch of trail cleared by the Bolivian army. At several intervals along the swatch, side cuts, or fajas, had been opened into the jungle and additional parcels were surveyed for settlement.

The main camp, "Germán Busch," was located three kilometers in from the river. In order for colonists or administrative personnel to reach the colonial headquarters at Villa Busch, the Yapacaní River had to be crossed first. Individuals rode in canoes and paid the boatman from US \$.10 to \$.50, depending on the condition of the river. Motor vehicles had to be loaded on large wooden pontoon barges which were powered by outboard motors fixed to the fore and aft hulls. If the Yapacaní was running full and swift, a three- to four-day waiting period was necessary for a safe crossing. Travelers marooned at the river's edge would have to camp out or seek lodging at the few fishermen's shacks along the banks.

Once the river had been traversed, the next step of the journey to Villa Busch or points beyond entailed the three-kilometer stretch of trail from the western

shore into the encampment. For those on foot, it was a tedious struggle through bog and thicket, but pedestrian travel was the surest means of getting there. Vehicles not only had to grind their way through seemingly endless traps of quagmire, but also were required to navigate across two or three slippery logs placed as bridges over the frequent creeks and streams along the track.

During these years, Villa Busch offered little more than the large mud-and-wattle, tin-roofed structure which housed the Corporación Boliviana de Fomento personnel, a few CBF outbuildings, a thatched and bamboo barracks for the soldiers stationed in the colony, and several pauhuichis inhabited by Camba fishermen and hunters. At night, a small generator gave light to the main administration building. A radio shack manned by a young Cruceñan was often the colony's sole link with the outside world.

The first CBF colonists were brought into the lowlands on trucks. Many of them were ex-miners whom the government was seeking to relocate, and most came without their families. The majority became discouraged and returned to the interior within months of their arrival. In the meantime, however, radio broadcasts and word of mouth spread the news of the new agricultural colonies to the east. A great many promises were made and prospective colonists soon began to trickle into



Villa Busch in search of land. These later settlers came on their own initiative, were frequently accompanied by their wives, children, and other relatives, and were for the most part agriculturalists. The Corporación gave them tools, seed, and foodstuffs on a long-term loan arrangement and then sent them off down the road to find a parcel. The army had constructed a few houses in the colony, but most colonists arrived to no more than wilderness right to the edge of the road. For weeks they would have to live in a palm lean-to until a better dwelling could be erected.

The principal crop of the Yapacaní was, and continues to be, dry rice. Early harvests in the colony simply remained there or were laboriously hauled out, bag by bag, on the backs of men, women, children and horses. Abandonment of parcels continued to plague colonization officials, and the settlers began using the colony only for the purpose of earning enough to acquire land closer to lowland markets.

In 1966 construction financed by USAID began on the Yapacaní bridge. The span was part of a package project which included paving the two branch roads from Montero and providing a gravel road 22 kilometers into the Yapacaní colony. As work began, interest in the Yapacaní settlement grew. It was evident that a great deal of land in the colony would soon have all-weather

market access. Parcel value increased, and even sites previously ignored because of extreme isolation were now being claimed by highland migrants. Although no titles to property had been given in the Yapacaní, buying and selling of farm plots was increasing steadily. Technically, all that was sold were the improvements to the property, but new arrivals understood, as did the resident colonists, that the former were buying not only a house, kitchen, pig pen, or whatever, but also the land they stood on. When a price had been agreed upon, the buyer and seller would present themselves to the CBF and, later, to the INC office in Villa Busch to arrange for a transfer of settlement rights and obligations. In essence, the buyer received nothing more than the knowledge that his name now replaced that of the previous colonist beside the parcel number in a ledger. Any outstanding debts to the colonization program incurred by the seller were transferred to the new resident. Since no effort was made to collect these debts, however, this too became simply a matter of shuffling papers.

The paved highway to the limit of the Yapacaní River was opened early in 1968, but several floods interrupted the completion of the bridge. The primary road nevertheless meant an increase in the number of vehicles in the area, subsequent competition for cargoes, and lower transport fees. Although development in the colony was

still hindered by the lack of a bridge and poor internal transit networks, truckers were now paying the cost of crossing the river by barge and braving the terrible roads in their search for cargoes of rice and hardwoods. Villa Busch began to grow rapidly. A small outdoor market opened in the field set aside for a town plaza where colonists could buy goods shipped from Montero and Santa Cruz. The urban lots which had been plotted years earlier were finally finding buyers.

By the time the researcher returned to the Yapaquí in 1975, the colony had undergone an amazing metamorphosis--a comment on the impact of direct market access. Villa Busch had become a bustling frontier town of more than 2,000 inhabitants (Solari 1975). The old Camba pauhuichis had been replaced by highlander-owned structures of brick and cement. An office of the civil police authority, DIC (Departamento de Investigación Criminal), had superseded the military post for maintaining order and settling disputes. A potable water system, evening-hour electricity, a 12-bed hospital run by the Methodists, and a savings and loan cooperative had also made an appearance. Most notable, however, was the huge covered market which had grown up in an area across the road from its original site.

Buying and selling activity in the colony had long since outgrown the projected plaza zone which was

now just that, the town square. A large section of Villa Busch was allocated for the new market, jointly funded by Obras Públicas and by INC, and brick and tin-roofed stalls were constructed on the site. The market itself was almost invisible from the road since colonists and vendors had erected wooden kiosks on any available space in the area. On weekends, itinerant sellers from Montero and other towns along with residents from all over the colony made their way into Villa Busch to participate in the marketing festivities. Chicherías had also sprung up on the outskirts of the community, attesting to the economic prosperity of the Yapacaní.

The schools situated at seven- and ten-kilometer intervals along the main colony road had become focal points for community development, and the road itself had been graded and surfaced with rock. But perhaps most importantly, the Yapacaní bridge now spanned the river. An 800-meter-long expanse of brilliant white concrete linked the colony to the rest of Santa Cruz, Bolivia, and the world. A trip to the departmental capital could be made in three hours instead of three days or more.

With the advent of the opening of the Yapacaní bridge and the semipaved road 22 kilometers into the colony, the Yapacaní has become no more than a continuation of the farming and marketing complex of the northern Santa Cruz region. Villa Busch and the other small

communities soon will come under public authority as colonial government is withdrawn. Even now, only vestiges remain of the once-remote outpost.

### The Yapacaní Colonists

The Yapacaní migrant sample population was selected to include as many varied areas of the colony as were possible to reach. As was true for previous study sites, informants were chosen primarily by availability at the time. In the case of the colonies, visits to more remote sectors were often a one-shot affair, so whoever was present became a candidate for questioning. Trips into the Yapacaní were made each week during the four months allotted for simultaneous research in San Carlos and the colony. Public transportation in the form of buses and small trucks was available as far as Villa Busch, but travel to points beyond depended entirely on the chance of catching a vehicle headed into the interior of the settlement. If none appeared, the day would have to be spent in Villa Busch itself.

Four acres outside of the main colony center were investigated. These were Naranjal, located on a faja to the south of the primary road; El Chore, a settlement zone on the northern faja (Faja Norte); and two sectors

of the faja central, Chori at kilometer 11 and El Palmar at kilometer 22, the termination point of the gravel road. The only remaining area which was not sampled was that beyond kilometer 22 in the Puerto Grether-Río Ichilo region. Very few vehicles frequented this stretch of trail because of its almost impassible condition. The researcher had walked the 40-kilometer path to Puerto Grether in 1967 and, even after a hiatus of almost nine years, was not eager to try it again.

Thirty-one settlers in the Yapacaní colony were interviewed along with INC officials, hospital staff and Catholic clery working in the area. Of the 31 individuals residing on parcels or in Villa Busch, three were found to be Guarayos from the San Ignacio region who were acting as caseros (caretakers) for highland landowners. Because of stringent rules in the colony which require that a parcel have a permanent resident or be forfeited\*, colonists who desire to work outside of the colony or on another parcel frequently leave a relative behind to protect against confiscation. It was both odd

---

\*The INC itself does not monitor the status of parcels in the colony, but land is in such demand that migrants seeking property will investigate any seemingly vacant plot. If the occupant does not return within a few days, the land is then taken over by the new arrival. After a few weeks' residence, the new colonist makes good his claim at the INC office.

and difficult to explain why these three unrelated persons living in widely dispersed sections of the colony and all Guarayos had literally become peons of highland colonists. In each case, the family had resided on the land for several years, had received some remuneration from the owner along with rights to till the soil, but also had to give up part of their annual harvest to the landlord. They were, in fact, sharecropping in an area where free access to land is still possible. One of the three informants, a male, explained that he did not want to go into the wilderness to start anew since he would have to relinquish the protection of his highland patron. It was the element of paternalism, then, which seemed to be the cohesive force in the Guarayo-Kolla relationship. The Guarayo Indians of the eastern reaches of Santa Cruz have an almost continuous history of servitude under both religious and secular patronage. This in part may explain the presence of Guarayos, not lowland mestizos or nonkin highlanders, in the position of tenant-casero. Because the three Guarayos represent such a singular case and also because they are not highland migrants, they have been excluded from the remaining data analysis which reduces the sample to 29 informants.

The mean age of the sample population was 33, falling well within the range of the previous study sites. Age variance for the Yapacaní informants was 11.6.

Breakdown by sex included 20 females and nine males. Only one male and one female of those persons interviewed were unmarried, and all of the married individuals had highland spouses.

Origins of the colonist sample population were overwhelmingly rural with only one female claiming an urban center, Sucre, as her last place of residence in the interior. The remaining informants came directly to the lowlands from a highland village. The importance

Table 37  
Migrant Origins

Origin	Absolute Frequency	Relative Frequency (%)
Rural	28	97.0
Urban	<u>1</u>	<u>3.0</u>
Total	29	100.0

of harvesting as a means of entry into Santa Cruz was underscored by the colonist group. Over half the sample had worked in rice, cane or cotton harvests prior to taking up residence in the Ypacanfi. Several of those individuals in the survey indicated that their primary purpose in coming to the lowlands had been to find any



Table 38  
Worked as Harvester

	Absolute Frequency	Relative Frequency (%)
Yes	17	59.0
No	<u>12</u>	<u>41.0</u>
Total	29	100.0

type of work, whether harvesting or not, and that once in the Santa Cruz region, information about available land inspired them to remain.

Other than work motivations, migrants claimed a desire to obtain more and better farmland as a prime incentive for leaving the highlands. One female explained that she and her husband arrived in the colony as the result of the latter having been stationed there as a sergeant in the army unit attached to the CBF. When the informant's husband received another transfer, the couple decided to remain in the Yapacaní rather than move again. The two now own a parcel, a restaurant and three rental houses in Villa Busch as well as having the beer concession for the colony. A final informant, a young woman, came to the Yapacaní to visit her sister, met and married a colonist and is living in Villa Busch.

Table 39  
Motives for Migration

Motive	Absolute Frequency	Relative Frequency (%)
To Obtain Land	15	53.0
To Find Work	12	41.0
Army Service	1	3.0
Visiting	<u>1</u>	<u>3.0</u>
Total	29	100.0

In keeping with the rural origins of the migrant sample population including spouses, or 56 individuals, over half named agriculture as having been their means of livelihood before moving to the lowlands. Six had been landless peons with no hope of ever obtaining their own property in the interior. There were also four miners, three of whom had been part of the first contingent of CBF recruits brought down from the highlands on trucks. Most of those who accompanied these early colonists eventually left the Yapacaní to return to the interior or to move into more accessible regions of the department. The fourth miner was a recent arrival and explained that political difficulties had led to his self-imposed exile in the colony. A cousin

in the settlement assisted the ex-miner in obtaining a parcel which he was presently working.

Table 40  
Previous Migrant Occupations  
(Including Spouses)

Occupation	Males		Females	
	Absolute Frequency	Relative Frequency (%)	Absolute Frequency	Relative Frequency (%)
Farming	17	61.0	17	61.0
Mining	4	14.0	0	0.0
Commerce	0	0.0	6	21.0
Army	1	4.0	0	0.0
Peon	6	21.0	0	0.0
None	<u>0</u>	<u>0.0</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>18.0</u>
Total	28	100.0	28	100.0

Multiple resource exploitation was very prevalent in the Yapaquí, although colonial policy discouraged the occupancy of more than one parcel or urban site at one time by colonists. Laxity in enforcing settlement rules along with inadequate record-keeping has enabled Yapaquí migrants to circumvent these government restrictions. Records of parcel allocation are kept in large wooden

file boxes at the INC office in Villa Busch. Filing procedures are haphazard at best, but the manner in which the system initially was set up allows for no means of ascertaining the number of plots occupied by any one colonist. The parcels are filed by plot number which is also a locational reference (by zone within the colony), and on the same folder, by the name of the original occupant. If occupancy changes, the forms are filed in the old folder. Thus it is important that the prospective buyer as well as the seller know the parcel number and the name of the first resident. There is no way of cross-checking landholders by name except by pulling out each folder, looking for the most recent transfer and then making a list of the present occupants to see how often each name appears. To the researcher's knowledge, no one has attempted this gargantuan task. Thus colonists can occupy with certain immunity any number of parcels and urban lots that they can afford to acquire. Since administrative concerns have always been with the attainment of a full complement of settlers and not with the equitable distribution of land, CBF and, later, INC have simply ignored these infractions.

The INC claims that 1,779 families have been settled in the Yapacaní colony (INC 1974). In other words, 1,779 parcels have been allocated. The actual number of families present in the colony may be much

less in view of the prevalence of acquiring more than one piece of colonial property. Now, as the Yapacaní moves toward self-determination, the general philosophy prevails that soon it simply will not matter.

Five informants admitted having access to more than one parcel of land, and 13 owned land as well as urban lots which were often the site of a store or other business enterprise. Many of those interviewed knew of neighbors who, in addition to their Yapacaní holdings, had land and homes in other colonies or nearby farming villages.

Chain migration has played an important role in the settlement history of the Yapacaní colony, as it has in other areas of the department. Nineteen of the 29 informants stated that they have other relatives living in the colony and that the first family members to arrive were instrumental in helping their kin to settle in and to obtain a parcel. All of the 19 persons claiming relatives in the settlement in addition to their nuclear family explained that on at least one occasion they offered food and temporary shelter to kin who had arrived from the highlands. Many also assisted these new colonists in building homes and in initial land clearing.

Giving aid in this manner not only is indicative of the presence of cooperativism among family members and, at times, among persons from the same village

Table 41  
 Relatives in Colony

	Absolute Frequency	Relative Frequency (%)
Yes	19	66.0
No	<u>10</u>	<u>34.0</u>
Total	29	100.0

or region, but also is representative of a functioning system of mutual aid and reciprocal obligations reminiscent of the highland Ayni. The new arrival has established a debt relationship with his kin member or friend. The latter may ask for reciprocation in the form of clearing, planting, harvesting, or all three. These work relationships often continue indefinitely, especially in such areas as the colonies where wage labor is difficult to obtain. Fictive kinship ties may be established which will further strengthen the bond.

If possible, family members or persons from the same village frequently try to find land near one another to shorten travel distance between farms and to recreate a semblance of previous communality. Hence, many sectors of the Yapacani are segregated by highland region, and particular localities will be well represented in a circumscribed area. For example, four of the five persons

interviewed at El Palmar were from a small village in Potosí, while Chori was settled almost entirely by Cochabambinos.

Although there are no available data which break down origin of colonists by region for the entire colony, partial information indicates that Cochabamba may supply a large percentage of migrants to the settlement. Villa Busch is a composite community, drawing its population from all areas within the Ypacaní. For this reason, it is possible to consider the urban area of Villa Busch as somewhat of a microcosm of the colony itself. Fortunately, there are some recent statistics concerning the population composition of the town. In November, 1975, a Salesian priest working in the urban area conducted a house-to-house census for the purpose of ascertaining the size of his parish. Included in this survey were questions dealing with the migrant's place of origin. Cochabamba was shown to have contributed the largest percentage of inhabitants to Villa Busch.

As the figures in Table 42 indicate, 34 individuals cited nations other than Bolivia as their last place of residence. It is unknown whether these were repatriated highlanders or actually Chilean, Argentine, or Brazilian emigrants. In the case of Argentina, at least, given the existence of Bolivian-Argentine migrants in other lowland localities, it is entirely possible that

Table 42

Migrant Origins by Region  
Villa Busch (Solari 1975)

Region	Number
La Paz	91
Beni	73
Cochabamba	340
Oruro	158
Potosí	280
Chuquisaca (Sucre)	109
Tarija	62
Chile	8
Argentina	20
Brazil	6

many of those 20 persons were Bolivian harvesters who entered Argentina illegally and subsequently were expelled.

The survey also emphasized the prevalence of multiple resource exploitation in the Villa Busch settlement. In the present urban area of the Villa, 896 lots have been sold to colonists, but only 451 had owners in residence at the time of the census. Whoever had been left to care for the house or store often explained



that the owner was elsewhere tending to farmland or another lot.

There were 11 chicherfas operating in Villa Busch. They were located at the point where the Faja Norte joins the main road on the western outskirts of the town. Three chicheras were interviewed and all were colonists who had commenced chicherfa businesses only after first having worked agricultural parcels in the colony. These women knew of two females who seemed to be professional chicheras, not owning land or the buildings from which they conducted their chicha trade. Until recent years, the only alcoholic beverage available in the colonies was cane alcohol. It could be sold in small quantities at a good profit. So, until transportation facilities into the colony improved, cane alcohol in compact cans and not chicha in large, heavy wooden barrels, was the alcoholic mainstay of the colony. Later, as transport became easier and cargo costs dropped, chicha was shipped into the Yapacanfi. Now the demand is great enough to permit both the daily preparation of chicha and the presence of a few professional chicheras.

As would be expected among a largely rural population as was found in the Yapacanfi colony, illiteracy rates for the sample group of migrants were high. Once again, females exhibited a lower incidence of literacy skills than did males. Rates of illiteracy among the

Yapacaní sample at 79 per cent were greatly above the national average of 47 per cent (Chirikos et al. 1971: 246).

Table 43  
Illiteracy  
(No. and Per Cent)

	Literate		Illiterate		Total	
Males	4	44.0	5	56.0	9	100.0
Females	<u>12</u>	<u>10.0</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>90.0</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>100.0</u>
Total	16	21.0	23	79.0	29	100.0

Finally, dress patterns among women displayed large-scale retention of the traditional pollera. Mestizo wear was encountered only on two female informants. Unlike other areas of the lowlands where highlanders and lowlanders cohabit, the Yapacaní colony is a highland domain and even young schoolgirls wear the pollera. In contrast, it was found that youngsters who attended schools where Cambas were present preferred to use mestizo clothing.

Table 44  
Dress Style

	Traditional		Mestizo	
	Absolute Frequency	Relative Frequency (%)	Absolute Frequency	Relative Frequency (%)
Males	0	0.0	9	100.0
Females	18	90.0	2	10.0
Total	62.0		38.0	

#### The San Julián Colony

The eastern branch of the Montero highway leads to the Río Grande, or at least to within nine kilometers of the river's western shore. On the other side, the San Julián colony begins, stretching in a northerly direction 72 kilometers along an old dirt track. The colony ends at the San Julián river, but the road continues on into eastern Santa Cruz and to the villages of San Ramón, Santa Rosa de la Mina and San Javier. All of these are Camba communities founded by the Jesuits as reducciones for Guaraní (Guaraní) Indians of the area. San Julián has a lengthy history of settlement like the distant Yapacaní, and also has witnessed at least two attempts to open terrain for successful colonization. An initial zone near the Río Grande was

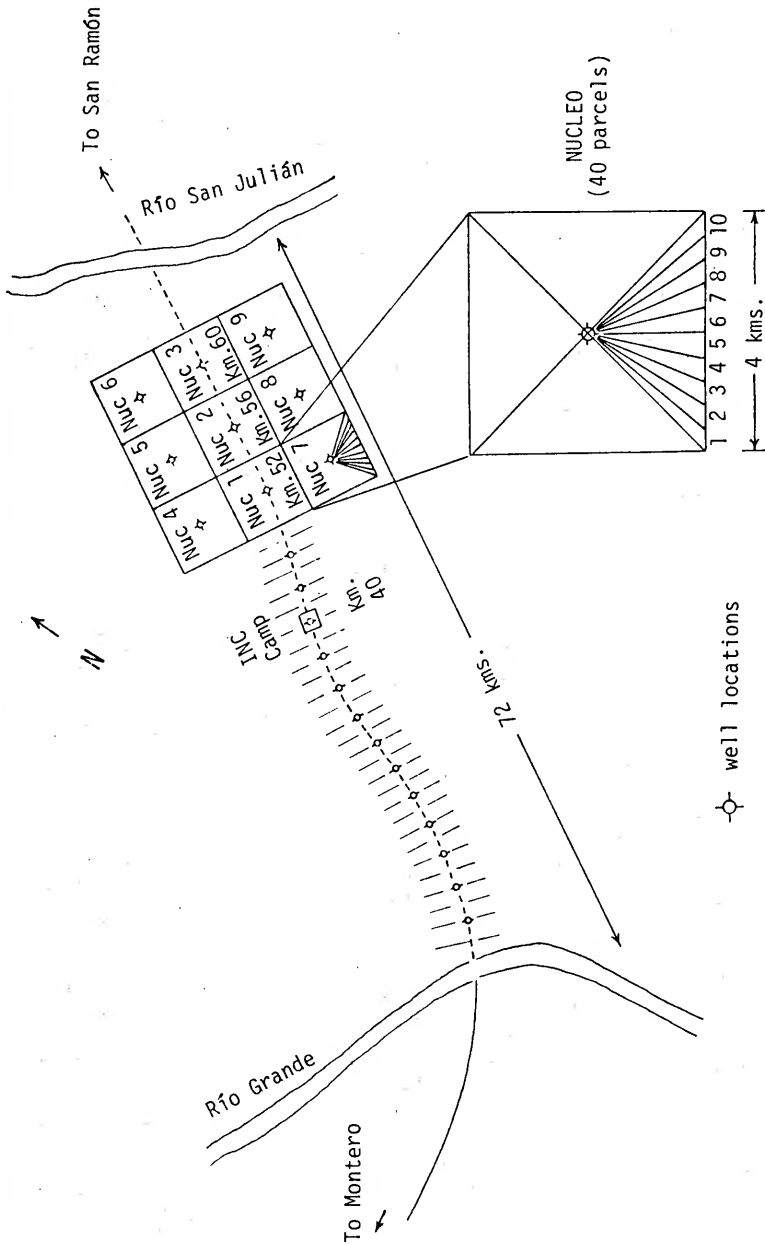


Figure 9. San Julián Colony

inaugurated about 1968. Fifty-hectare plots at 150-meter intervals were laid out along the unimproved road for a distance of 40 kilometers. Prior to this period, however, lowlanders from San Javier and even the more remote village of San Ignacio had settled on parts of the proposed colonial territory. Squatters' rights prevailed and the colony had to be planned around them. Later, when San Julián was opened for official colonization, a few highlanders responded to the offer of free farmland, but the majority of residents continued to be Cambas from nearby villages. The Instituto Nacional de Colonización supplied parcel surveys and wells with hand pumps every four kilometers but little more. It was evident that the colony was not progressing as planned and funding was withdrawn.

The agricultural boom of the 70's awakened new interest in San Julián. Financing for settlement of the area beyond kilometer 40 was obtained from USAID (US \$200,000) along with a West German loan which included technical assistance for the construction of a secondary road from the Río San Julián to the Río Grande--the length of the zone set aside for colonial development. By mid-1975, approximately one-third of the road had been completed.

Unlike the first 40 kilometers of the old section of the colony which was laid out on a linear plan, the

new segment of San Julián has been divided into nine nucleos with 40 pie-shaped parcels radiating out from each settlement nucleus. The nine nucleos occupy an area 144 kilometers square, with Nucleos 1, 2 and 3 located along the main road. Nucleos 4, 5 and 6 along with 7, 8 and 9 are lateral to the roadside settlement, forming a compact colonization block. All nine nucleos have wells with hand pumps, and there are plans to widen the footpaths connecting the lateral parcels to the main road.

At the time of the researcher's visit to the colony in June, the slack season between crops, very few colonists were actually in residence. Only Nucleos 1, 2, 7 and 8 presently were open for settlement and of these, 7 and 8 were virtually empty. Nucleo 1 was composed of highlanders, many related to one another through consanguineal or affinal ties, and all were ex-harvesters.

Nucleo 2 was a settlement of mixed inhabitants, but the majority were Cambas of Guarayo stock. The INC was methodically but covertly segregating the colony into Camba and Kolla residential zones, and two Camba families previously living in Nucleo 1 had been requested to change their location to Nucleo 2. Part of the pressure on these lowlanders to move to another nucleo was exerted by the highland colonists in

Nucleo 1 who wanted the property for additional kin members.

Nucleo 7 had been settled by a group of migrants from the Potosí area, but none were present. Other colonists stated that a few of the Potosinos had returned to the interior to visit relatives but that most had gone into Montero to work in the cane and cotton harvests.

The final area, Nucleo 8, was granted to a group of Bolivians who had been living illegally in Chile and who were expelled from the country en masse. The Bolivian government was faced with the problem of relocating these repatriots, and San Julián was handy. There were only three of the original 40 families in residence at the time of the study, many having found a means of returning to Chile. Thus Nucleos 1 and 2, situated on the main road were the sole areas within the new San Julián colony which contained their full complement of colonists.

From the nucleated section to the San Julián River, or some 12 kilometers, there are a few Guarayos squatting on the government land. In the near future, this area also will be platted for settlement by highlanders.

In many respects, the San Julián colony resembles the Yapacaní of former years. San Julián is a very difficult area in which to live. The Río Grande must be crossed on a barge or in a canoe, and, like, the Yapacaní

River, it is prone to flash flooding. In addition, the improved road through the colony is only partially completed and transport costs are prohibitive. Other than by walking, the colonist's sole way in and out of San Julián is on logging trucks which are at work in the forests beyond the colony. The new secondary road under construction will lower the cost of market goods and transport fees, but the colonists must await the completion of a bridge spanning the Río Grande before any substantial development will occur. And the Río Grande bridge is a long way from becoming reality.

Unlike the Yapacaní, however, the majority of the problems of San Julián will not be solved by the building of roads and bridges. The colony of San Julián has a much more tragic flaw--the area is too arid\* for profitable rice production and as yet the colonist has no viable substitute. The 1974 rice crop failed from lack of adequate precipitation. Much of the older section of the colony (kilometers 1 to 40) already has been consolidated into large cattle ranches and it appears that this will be the fate of most of the area. In the case of San Julián, the succession of small farmer

---

\*Mean annual precipitation for the Yapacaní is 1,500 mm while that of the San Julián area measures approximately 800 mm (Cochrane 1973:261;358).



to large landholder evidently will occur much more rapidly than in the more humid zones.

As previously noted, Nucleos 1 and 2 are the primary settlement centers in San Julián. The INC has an encampment at kilometer 40 which serves as a base of operations for colonial administration, but it is not until kilometer 52, Nucleo 1, that the first semblance of a community appears. Nucleo 1 is the less developed of the two sites, with a school and three or four houses built on the edge of the road. One of these dwellings is a two-story adobe brick house built in the highland tradition. The design is ill-suited to the area, however, and signs of erosion are beginning to appear on the walls and near the foundations. This building is the one commercial outlet in Nucleo 1. The owner has stocked a small front room with such items as kerosene, lamps, matches, cane alcohol and shotgun shells. The cost of cartage to Nucleo 1 is US \$1.00 per 100 pounds of cargo, pushing the cost of imported foodstuffs and merchandise beyond the reach of many colonists.

Nucleo 2 has many more structures and visible residences than its neighbor four kilometers down the road. The West German construction company has built a camp at Nucleo 2 which adds to the semblance of activity there, and residents have erected a storehouse as part of an INC effort to establish a credit cooperative.

In addition, the community has a school and several small kiosks scattered along the edge of the highway to cater to passing road gangs. Most of the residences are pauhuichis of the Camba Guarayos and a few have front room stores. One of the plans outlined for the development of the colony is to make Nucleo 2 the main colonial settlement or urban center in the district. The INC believes that highlanders eventually will gain control of the community once the road is completed and the colony begins to expand economically. The Camba farmers are expected to move on to agricultural lands which are scheduled for opening during the next several years.

There are also three Mennonite volunteers working in Nucleo 2 as part of the colonial orientation programs under the auspices of the Montero-based Iglesias Unidas. These Mennonites do not belong to the same groups which have formed colonies east and south of the city of Santa Cruz, however, but are members of a Canadian church which requires of its congregation a two-year tour of service as missionaries.

Colonization of San Julián will begin in earnest in 1976, and the Iglesias Unidas will conduct a three-month orientation course for each incoming contingent of colonists. It is hoped that by giving the recent arrivals instruction in lowland agricultural methods, nutrition and general "survival" techniques, the rate

of abandonment will fall below the present 40-50 per cent level (INC 1974). Some colonists are being urged to plant soybeans which thrive in the semihumid region, but for the moment at least, this seems to be an exercise in futility since there is very little market for raw soybeans in Bolivia. The orientation program may succeed in lengthening the average period of residence for the colonists, but it can do nothing to change the climatic conditions and resulting patterns of land use inherent to the San Julián area itself. The general absence of land cooperatives trying to claim parcels in San Julián may be the best indicator of the zone's lack of productive potential for the swidden horticulturist.

### The San Julián Colonists

In terms of accessibility, the San Julián colony proved to be the most difficult research site of the study. A six-hour journey from Montero on the top of an INC cargo truck loaded with bags of cement carried the investigator as far as the INC camp at kilometer 40 where the remainder of the night was spent. From there it would be another 16 kilometers to Nucleo 2, the main colony settlement and also the location where the three Canadian Mennonite volunteers were stationed. The following morning the researcher set out on foot for

Nucleo 2, but fortunately a jeep from the West German road company happened by and picked up the weary traveler.

Once in Nucleo 2, a warm invitation to remain in their small, one-room pauhuichi was extended by the Mennonites. The anthropologist was given a place to sleep in the tumbadillo, a second floor created by placing planks across the top of the dwelling's wall supports. Some initial time was spent with the volunteers in learning the layout of the colony and the recent settlement history of the zone.

Distances between settlement nucleos were at four-kilometer intervals, so a good deal of walking was necessary to contact informants. Only three of the nine nucleos were inhabited at the time of the visit, however, leaving the study area mercifully reduced in size. A week had been allotted for the San Julián segment, but at the end of the third day it began to rain. The investigator was reminded that if she planned on getting out of the colony in the near future, it would be necessary to leave immediately. The road was becoming impassible and the Río Grande would be reaching flood levels within the next several hours. Thus the study was cut short after only three days in San Julián. Nine migrants were interviewed during this period, four in Nucleo 1, four in Nucleo 2, and a repatriated Bolivian from Chile who was the only person present in Nucleo 8 at the time.

As was the case for San Carlos where the migrant sample population was few in number, the San Julián informants also will be treated as individual subjects. Time limitations and travel exigencies did not allow for the same depth in the data as was obtained in San Carlos, however, but the information gathered does provide some insights into migrant characteristics, strategies and lifestyles in San Julián.

#### Nucleo 1

All of the men from Nucleo 1 were in the monte clearing land for the next planting season. As a result, only women were present for interviews in this locality. Several were washing clothes by the well near the road. Two females were questioned here, and two at a house nearby completed the sample.

The two informants at the well were from Potosí and Cochabamba, were both illiterate and came from rural villages. They were related affinally, although the exact nature of the relationship could not be determined. These individuals confirmed earlier reports that the nucleo consists of mostly kin members from the Sucre area. Evidently these two women had married into the Sucrense family. Benigna Miranda, the 28-year-old Cochabambina, stated that she and her husband also have relatives in the Yapacaní and upon arriving in the

lowlands had tried unsuccessfully to obtain land there. As a second choice, the Mirandas came to San Julián. Both of these migrants as well as the two interviewed at the house had come to the lowlands to work in the cotton harvest. All cited a general lack of opportunity as their reasons for migrating to Santa Cruz.

Donata Huanca, the 20-year-old from Potosí, and one of the women at the farmhouse, Mercedes Ortega, talked animatedly about the prospect of buying a lot in Montero. Although these conversations occurred separately, many of the same phrases and expressions were employed by both women, leaving the impression that Montero was a frequent topic for dialogue in the nucleo. In addition, Begnigna and Donata implied that their husbands were dissatisfied with life in this particular colony and were searching for better land elsewhere.

The two females at the farmhouse, Mercedes Ortega and Lucy Medina, were also affines; the former had married the brother of the latter. Lucy was an 18-year-old unmarried woman from Sucre. Her sister-in-law, Mercedes, aged 23, came from Potosí and was holding her newly arrived first-born child. The young Sucrense explained that there were six members of her father's family of orientation as well as her own siblings present in the nucleo. She also thought that a few of the others may be distant relatives but was not certain. These

informants retold the story of the Camba families which had been requested by INC to move out of Nucleo 1 into Nucleo 2. The women were quite frank about the concerted effort of family members directed against the presence of the lowlanders in the nucleo. The land simply was needed for other relatives, they explained.

Mercedes was the more adamant of the two in her desire to leave the colony, preferably to move to Montero. She also stated that she had relatives in the Yapacaní and thought that it was a much better place to live than San Julián.

### Nucleo 2

The inhabitants in Nucleo 2 were largely Camba Guarayos, many of whom had been in the region for a decade or more, squatting on government lands. When the new colony was opened, several families moved closer in, made formal petitions for parcels and settled in Nucleo 2 to begin community life. Because the researcher was in this nucleo during the evening hours, it was possible to interview three males who normally would not be found at home during the daytime. All three were sitting in a house next to the Mennonite pauhuichi and, although they were not related to one another, they had been friends for a number of years. Two were from San Ignacio and the third was from a rancho near Santa Rosa. Each

man had worked monte in this area since boyhood. It was interesting that none expressed the same philosophy of settlement as was found among many of the highland colonists--to acquire and keep as much good land as possible. These rural Cambas felt that the land in wilderness areas was inalienable--there to be farmed and not owned. The men had no intention of becoming "colonists." They were in San Julián because they had always worked the monte in this region.

The fourth informant at Nucleo 2 was a female highland migrant who was found washing clothes by the well. She had come to the lowlands with a sister to work in the cotton harvest. Both were now married, the sister living on a farm near Cuatro Ojitos. This woman, Fortunata Gutiérrez, was not certain of her age but thought she was about 22. She was illiterate. Fortunata came from a mountain village in the department of Oruro where life was very hard, she said. She was more than happy to leave the highlands where she felt that she had little future, "solo frío y hambre, no mas" (only cold and hunger, that's all). Fortunata was confident that together with her husband, who she said was a hard worker, they would make a good life in the lowlands. Fortunata finished by saying that in the highlands her husband had always worked as a peon and now he had his own land. They too had lost their rice crop the previous year,



but unlike the other highland women in Nucleo 1, Fortunata still had faith in the land and in the colony.

### Nucleo 8

The only person living in Nucleo 8 at the time of the researcher's trip to San Julián was Flora Vedia, a Bolivian repatriate from Chile. She was an anomaly in the colony; an unmarried woman in her late twenties, a campesino by birth but not by upbringing who had completed a high school education. She came to the colony with a brother who had remained in Bolivia. Flora had her own parcel, nevertheless, and worked it herself. When asked if she would mind the use of a tape recorder while she related her story, Flora said no and gladly agreed to the interview. Her story follows:

I was born in Oruro, no? Not right in the city of Oruro, in the town of . . . it's part of Oruro (department) . . . Turco. I was born there. Later, I left as a young girl. At the age of five, according to my mother, we went to my father's family's place. It's a little farther on, a nearby village, no? We settled in one of my father's houses and I was there until age seven. At seven, I went to Chile, with my family, no? with my mother, no? Because of the bad situation we had there (Oruro), they raise sheep and llamas, that's all. Besides, there was the problem with my mother because she fought a lot with my father, and everything else with the marriage. His family was always making trouble--that's why my mother left, no? Then when she went to Chile she was fine, the people there treated her very well,

and my mother didn't want to come back. Then she sent for us, we all went later because she was there a month before we arrived. Then we were all there, then at seven I had gone. I completed my primary school there. I did my schooling through the sixth grade in a little town called Camiña in the interior in a region called Iquiqui. Then, after that I left Iquiqui to study Humanities, no? But our economic situation was very bad--my father didn't want to help us any longer, and my mother worked very hard alone. So that she wouldn't have to sacrifice herself any longer, I didn't want to study. Then we came to Arica, to some of my mother's family, no? an aunt. She wanted to help us so that I could continue to study and also my older brother. We were there until '73, when we came here (Bolivia). But there during those years in Arica, eight or ten years, no? I finished secondary school and received my bachiller and was going on to the university, no? When we had to return as repatriates because of my own stupidity. They didn't tell us they were going to throw out foreigners because when the government changed they were only interested in getting rid of the people involved in politics, no? But they found those of us who didn't have documents. And in my case, my mother had said, "take care of your documents because you are of age now," and I had to do them alone, not with my mother, no? So they had to give me my own passport. They demanded that I have a passport, no? When we left here (Bolivia) my mother had a passport for herself and the children, but we lost it. We had no proof of our entry. When we went to the consulate (Bolivian) they acted very badly and didn't want to help us. They said we could only get a passport in Bolivia and that we had to have an identification card which we didn't. And they demanded, no? Then I went to the Chilean authorities and they told me that I would have to insist at the consulate. I didn't have enough money to go to Bolivia, get my papers and return.

I only had my birth certificate but with only that they wouldn't give me my identification card--"No hay, no se puede." Later, after about four years, the consul was changed so I tried again. He was a better person and he told me that he was going to give me a passport, no? But they needed all sorts of documents and I didn't have them, and I was working too, without permission. All my brothers had their documents in order and are there now with permanent residence. I was the only one without permission to stay, because of my own inaction. Then I had to leave the country when another government came in and said that we had to leave. There were a lot of Bolivians and they took us to La Paz. But we couldn't find any work and demanded that the government try to help us, so they sent us here. A lot of the people I came with were from the valley of Azapa in Arica, farming people, but now that better relations have begun between Chile and Bolivia, many got their documents and returned. I am going to try to make a go of it here, if it is possible. If not, I will just have to go somewhere else, but not the interior--there is nothing there, nothing there for anyone.

Nucleo 8 was named Nueva Azapa in honor of the Chilean valley from which many of the repatriates had been sent. Now that most have gone, the INC has attempted to remove the Chilean name and replace it with one of Bolivian origin. Since the War of the Pacific, when Bolivia lost its seacoast, Bolivia and Chile have never been on the best of terms. The presence of persons in the colony whose primary allegiance was to Chile and not to Bolivia was a constant source of aggravation to INC officials. Naming the colony after a Chilean locality only served to exacerbate the situation. Now that most

of the repatriates have left, the INC is moving swiftly to erase all evidence of this particular episode in the colony's history.

During the initial years of colonization in the Santa Cruz region, many of the people who were brought from the highlands to settle in wilderness areas eventually left the colonies. At first, most returned to the interior. There were few opportunities available in Santa Cruz in those years. Market routes were nonexistent, and if farm produce did reach marketing centers, the low prices paid for it did not really make the effort worthwhile.

As the region rapidly began to develop in the 1960's, colonization areas became staging centers for many highland migrants. At the time, the colonies served much the same function as do the cotton fields at present--they provided temporary sites for preadaptation to lowland life. For those migrants who arrived directly from the highlands and who had little acquaintance with swidden horticulture, colonization offered an ideal learning situation. Although colonial life was, and continues to be harsh and difficult, it gave many migrants needed farming expertise and at the same time provided them with an initial means of accumulating capital for alternative endeavors.

Today, the agricultural boom of Santa Cruz has created a demand for arable land, including that found in agricultural settlements. Many migrants now remain in the colonies, successfully adapting to life in these remote areas. The exigencies of shifting agriculture frequently require that subsequent holdings be obtained, however. Thus in such areas as the Yapacaní, it is common to find colonists moving to another parcel after they have exhausted their first- and second-growth forest.\* If available, new land will be acquired within the confines of the Yapacaní colony itself, but it is not uncommon for migrants to move from one colony to another in search of virgin territory. In the San Julián case, it may be expected that the process of horizontal migration will be telescoped into a shorter time span due to the general unsuitability of the area for rice production. San Julián colonists are already in the market for land in other zones.

Concurrent with this horizontal pattern of sequential migration within and among the colonies is that of multiple resource migration. In the latter situation, farmlands and other holdings are consolidated for simultaneous exploitation. Exhausted rice fields

---

\*On a 20-hectare parcel, deforestation will take an average of five to eight years.

are put to pasture for cattle, new lands are obtained for rice, and commercial property may be held in colonial centers or even in larger towns such as San Carlos or Montero.

Whether sequential, multiple resource, or step migration, all of these migratory patterns existing in the agricultural settlements contribute to a highly unstable colonial population. Unless cooperativism is successfully institutionalized in the highland migrant colonies as it has been in those of the Mennonites, Japanese and Okinawans, it is doubtful that the government's goal of full-sedentariness will be achieved. For the present, spatial mobility is a requisite for economic stability.

## CHAPTER EIGHT

### MIGRATION AND THE DEPARTMENT OF SANTA CRUZ: A CONCLUDING STATEMENT

One of the more interesting aspects of studying migration as a regional, and to a lesser degree, national phenomenon is the remarkable interrelatedness of individual patterns and processes which develop from the data. Population movement ceases to be the mere summation of numerous isolated experiences but instead emerges as an integrated system of adaptive strategies. Behavior which may seem random or unrelated to a wider context may be perceived as integral to an overall configuration of experiential response. Migration no longer may be accurately portrayed as a static situation, a moment captured and frozen in time and space, but as an ongoing process of change.

In the foregoing chapters, the migrant experience in lowland Bolivia has been described in relation to differing settlement situations and the concomitant strategies employed for successful adaptation to these various social, economic and physical environments. In addition, motivational factors, migration patterns

and processes have been discussed for each research site. In all of the five localities investigated, certain conditions called forth particular migrant responses which might be considered peculiar to the site due to its discrete history and socioeconomic development. On the other hand, much of the information gleaned from each area has definite bearing on the regional pattern of migration and on the migration process as a whole. It is to this latter topic that the present chapter will be addressed. A comparative analysis of the data gathered in each study site will be presented, the nomothetic principles advanced by Everett Lee (see Chapter One) will be tested, and finally, an integrated descriptive model will be proffered to explicate population flows in the Department of Santa Cruz.

### The Urban-Rural Dichotomy

Alers and Applebaum's first proposition, discussed in Chapter One, in essence states that migrants tend to gravitate toward destination points which have some sociostructural similarity to the point of origin. It appears that the Santa Cruz evidence supports this hypothesis.

For a frontier area, the Department of Santa Cruz presents somewhat of an anomaly in that it has a large



urban center in its midst. The city of Santa Cruz is not a pioneer outpost representing the fringe of civilization such as Tingo Marfa in Peru or Florencia in Colombia. It is a primate city of over 170,000 inhabitants and offers many of the same attractions and services as urban areas everywhere. Thus the department is the recipient of two migrant streams which represent both the rural and urban segments of the nation.

Those migrants with urban backgrounds, ascribed or achieved, for the most part are seeking residence in the city of Santa Cruz. The rural migrants, on the other hand, are given an opportunity to select either an urban settlement or continued rural existence on a lowland farm. It is notable, however, that if an urban residence is chosen by the rural migrant, it is Montero, not Santa Cruz, which becomes the preferred destination. The hypothesis that if conditions permit, migrants will seek situations of structural similarity again proves valid in this case. Montero is a smaller city than Santa Cruz and consequently many of the problems inherent to urban life are reduced in scale or do not appertain. Even more importantly, Montero is a rural city, if this contradiction in terms may be permitted. Montero in many respects is a country village which has grown in area and population, but the fundamental rural ambience of the city remains relatively unchanged. Rural persons in

Montero, for example, do not have the same sense of impersonalization as they do in the city of Santa Cruz. Moreover, Montero offers additional attractions for the highland rural migrant. The city has become a highland stronghold. Montero is located in the heart of the agricultural region of the department and has become a recreational as well as service center for highland campesinos working or living in the lowlands. There are two large markets and more than an adequate number of chicherías. There are also job opportunities in Montero for the unskilled laborer, and farm work is available in area contiguous to town. Santa Cruz with its highly urban atmosphere on the other hand offers no comparable attractions for the rural migrant. Hence it appears that if presented with a choice, the urban-bound rural migrant will select that locality which is more closely aligned to his or her specific needs and attributes, a city like Montero.

Although only two cases of Montero-Santa Cruz migration were encountered among the city of Santa Cruz migrant sample population, it is possible that this particular aspect of lowland migration will increase. Montero represents an intermediate step for rural persons seeking urban involvement, and may therefore become a temporary residence for migrants on their way to Santa Cruz. There also exists the possibility that large-scale

Montero-Santa Cruz migration among highlanders will never occur. Montero is growing rapidly and is located on a major transportation artery. Once the highway through the Chapare is linked with the Yapacaní road, Montero will be the closer of the two cities on the new route to the interior; its importance as a regional center could then begin to eclipse that of Santa Cruz. Furthermore, Montero is being converted to a city of highlanders, and ethnic solidarity is a strong positive factor to remain there. In contrast, Santa Cruz is a Camba city, and all indications are that it will remain so for a long time to come.

#### Motivational Factors in Migration

The negative factors at the point of origin and the positive factors at the destination site which contributed to the decision to migrate were largely economic in all five study areas. Of the entire regional sample population numbering 154 individuals, 64 per cent gave economic motives for migration. The economic stagnation in the highlands in both the rural and urban sectors has been a major "push" factor for most of the Bolivians moving to the lowlands. This situation had been building for many years, but it was not until Santa Cruz had something to offer the migrant that population movement

into the district began on a large scale. This situation may be compared to Alers and Applebaum's Proposition 37 which states

Motivations which are strongly economic exercise a more influential role as pull factors than as push; that is to say, there is a greater propensity among migrants to feel attracted by increased economic opportunities in a locality than to feel expelled from the place of origin simply as a result of economic problems. (Alers and Applebaum 1968:15)

Once expansion of Cruceñan agriculture, together with the growth of the petroleum industry, began increasing available capital in the region, the stage was set for internal migration. The phenomenal growth in farm production along with the labor-intensive nature of the products cultivated created a ready market for seasonal labor. Harvesting became the gateway for many seeking not only new opportunities but hope of a better life. After migrants had worked the canefields and cotton harvest, many decided to remain, finding additional markets for their labor or purchasing small farms in the region. The agricultural boom also contributed to the flow of capital into the lowland urban centers, and, along with petroleum royalties, helped to finance private and public work projects which also demanded large quantities of primarily unskilled labor. Thus cities such as Montero and Santa Cruz became the destination points of an urban flow from the highlands which complemented its rural counterpart.

Once the primary stream of migrants into the lowlands began to grow steadily, a secondary stream commenced. The later was composed of people who would find income opportunities as a consequence of the presence of the migrant population itself--the market vendors, the dealers in soft- and hardware, the entrepreneurs, and of course, the chicheras.

Although economic incentives occupied a position of primacy in stated migration motivations, it was also evident that many additional inputs were involved in the resolution to migrate. To again quote Wilkie,

the economic factor helps condition the need to migrate, but whether the final decision to migrate is made or not reverts in most cases to the psychological, social, spatial and environmental perceptions and attitudes within the family unit. (Wilkie 1968:109)

The majority of the Santa Cruz migrants in the total sample population stated that they were influenced by relatives, friends, or other individuals to make the move, and that once they were in the lowlands, had that decision reinforced by similar networks of individuals. Among those who arrived as harvesters, contratados or voluntarios, peer pressure was extremely influential in the decision to migrate. Harvesters frequently arrived in groups derived from kinship ties, friendships, or local residence, and once an initial commitment had been made by one or more members to migrate, pressure was exerted on others to join the exodus.

Although they were secondary to economic motives, reasons for migrating such as visiting, military service, or running away were frequently cited. Runaways have created an interesting situation in that they may be inadvertently contributing to the migration of relatives or friends who come to the lowlands to find them. During the study, a number of parents of runaways were encountered throughout the region. In some cases they had found their offspring and had decided to remain in Santa Cruz. In others, however, the search had not as yet had any positive results. These parents were unanimous in their decision to remain in eastern Bolivia until their child or children could be found. Because of the nature of the cotton harvest which enables children as well as adults to find employment, increasing numbers of highland youth are leaving their homes in search of adventure and a taste of freedom from household demands. Since work is readily available for these individuals, most do not return unless coerced.

#### Migrant Settlement Patterns

Settlement patterns of migrants in the five study sites were a reflection of the demands of the physical and social environments of each locality as well as a consequence of the nature of the settlement process itself.

Thus the two major influencing factors in the location of migrants in a settlement situation were (1) the rate and volume of migration to an area, and (2) the existing socioeconomic and physical dimensions of the site.

In Santa Cruz, Montero, and, to a certain extent, Warnes, the rate and volume of migrants arriving in these areas played the major role in establishing settlement patterns. When migrants arrive in large numbers over a relatively short period of time, they tend to consolidate in areas or barrios which as a result demonstrate a high degree of ethnic solidarity. Thus the cities of Santa Cruz and Montero and the town of Warnes exhibit specific migrant settlement zones. The pressure of large numbers of migrants in these cities spurred the allocation of vacant lands for the formation of migrant neighborhoods. In the case of Santa Cruz, settlement patterns within the migrant barrios have followed the spatial expansion of the city and bear a definite structural relationship to it. This has also followed to a certain extent in Montero since the developmental progression of the city has been toward the migrant neighborhood. In Montero, lowlanders were instrumental in deciding the ultimate location of highland barrios and efforts were successful in relocating the migrant population outside of the inner core of the city.

In the village situation, as exemplified by San Carlos, migrant volumes and rates have been small due to a relatively stable economic base. As a result, settlement of migrants has tended to be integrated with that of the community as a whole. It might be hypothesized that should the village for some reason begin attracting a substantial number of migrants, pressures would be brought to bear on the owners of large landholdings within the three-kilometer urban radius of the community to relinquish these properties for settlement by migrants as developed in Santa Cruz, Montero and Warnes. Since migration to San Carlos has tended to occur in small amounts over a long period of time, however, the San Carlos immigrant has found it necessary to become integrated socially, economically, as well as spatially into the existing village structure. Unlike their counterparts in areas of high migrant concentrations, the San Carlos highlanders cannot exist within their own socio-economic milieu.

The colonies present an ambience where settlement patterns have been somewhat predetermined by a planned program of land allocation. Even so, sites are chosen which enable family members and groups from the same place of origin to locate in contiguous relationships within each colonial sector. In the colonies, however, highlanders are in the vast majority, and unlike other



sites where Cambas predominate, are not affected to any significant degree by local residence patterns.

The existence or absence of rental housing was also a reflection of differing rates and volumes of migration to a given locality. The greatest incidence of rental housing was found in the two urban centers, Santa Cruz and Montero, where immigration rates are high. In both sites, the influx of migrants in need of immediate shelter created a large enough demand for housing that established highlanders were eager to take economic advantage of the situation. Thus the existence of numerous multifamily units or inexpensive temporary shelter is prevalent in these areas. Rental complexes were also encountered in the main settlement of the Yapacaní, Villa Busch, which is now experiencing an increase in its urban population due to the growth of the marketing sphere in the colony. In all areas which manifest rental housing, the majority of these units remain on the periphery or in the newest section of the residential district. As stabilization begins to occur, rental housing in the barrio decreases or moves to the limites of the settlement.

#### Characteristics of Migrants

As a result of research in Peru, Stillman Bradfield was able to draw certain inferences about the

nature of the individual who migrated from the countryside to an urban center. In general, the Peruvian migrants in the Bradfield study tended to have a higher rate of literacy than the general population, were younger than the population as a whole, were more independent and demonstrated greater progressiveness in their thinking (Bradfield 1973). As a group, the Santa Cruz sample exhibited certain similarities to Bradfield's migrants but differed in other respects.

Youth seems to be a universal characteristic of migrants. Studies of migration conducted in numerous areas of the world among both urban and rural populations emphasize the tendency to migrate before age 30. Alers and Applebaum have included this particular characteristic of migrants as Proposition 70 which states that "Migrants tend to be young, probably younger than 30 years of age in the majority, at the time of migration" (Alers and Applebaum 1968:27). In Santa Cruz, the mean age of the sample informants was 31.7. However, the average length of residence in the region was five years, reducing the mean age at the time of arrival to 26.7. The only sample group in the Santa Cruz study which demonstrated any significant difference from the mean ages of the other sample sites was that of the San Julián colony which had an average age of 23.2. Since only six highlanders were interviewed in the colony, these figures are not necessarily representative.

In terms of literacy skills, the Santa Cruz migrant sample demonstrated a lower rate of literacy than the national average, in contradiction to Bradfield's hypothesis. The estimated rate of illiteracy for Bolivia is 47 per cent (Chirikos et al. 1971:246). The overall group of informants displayed a rate of over 68 per cent. It should be noted, however, that females exhibited a much greater tendency toward illiteracy than did males, and the sample was skewed heavily toward females in this study. Seventy-four per cent of those individuals interviewed were women. Had a balanced sample been taken, the rate of illiteracy may have fallen within or below that of the nation. On the other hand, it should be recognized that the majority of migration studies previously carried out have primarily involved male informants. Especially in areas where females did not have the same access to education (thereby lowering the migrant literacy rate), the consistent exclusion of women from migration studies would affect the figures regarding literacy among migrant subjects.

Migrants in Santa Cruz also tend to be innovative, ambitious and adaptable to changing situations. These qualities are best reflected in the ways in which migrants derive income and expand their access to available resources. The majority of highland Bolivians who move to Santa Cruz are of an entrepreneurial type, but this

characteristic is manifest especially among women. Although entrepreneurship at first appeared to be linked to urbanism, it was later found that rural migrants as well were highly motivated to diversify their resources by entering into commercial and other nonagriculturally related activities. What was most interesting throughout the department was the highland woman's ability to optimize lowland marketing opportunities. Granted, in many instances, markets actually had to be created, but once they were it was not long before highlanders dominated the scene. Perhaps of all the traits which might have been introduced by migrants to lowland society, marketing has had the most far-reaching impact. Buying habits have changed in terms of both dietary predilections and preferred marketing days.

Highland females generally like to sell. They will sit on street corners selling fruit, erect a small stand for merchandise, or place a table at a strategic point to offer cold drinks to passersby. Although selling is a well-established highland tradition among women, it is also perfectly suited for the lowland environment. A virtual vacuum in the marketing sphere existed in Santa Cruz prior to the arrival of highlanders. Hence, these females were able to move into an economic realm which not only suited their backgrounds and abilities but also offered them unlimited opportunity for

exploitation. Of the female sample population of 115 persons, 60 per cent are engaged in marketing or other marketing-related activities.

Other females have found the migrant population itself a suitable source of income. In some localities such as Santa Cruz, Warnes and Montero, migrants are numerous enough to permit economic enterprises which operate as parallel systems to those of Cambas, and which depend only on migrants themselves for clients. Many vendors in markets cater to particular highland commodities such as polleras or coca. The most outstanding example, of course, is the presence of chicherfas in the department. In this case a large occupational group has migrated to Santa Cruz for the sole purpose of providing chicha to the highland populace.

The male informants covered a wider spectrum of occupational specialties than did the females. The category with the largest number of male migrants was that of albañil or construction worker. The building boom and public works projects in most of the larger urban centers in Santa Cruz is accounting for a great deal of the employment of highland as well as lowland migrant males. Construction employs a majority of unskilled labor, an ideal situation for the young urbanite without a trade or the rural inhabitant whose only skill is farming. Other male occupational categories included

transport, industry, commerce and, among the villagers and colonists, agriculture.

Although the Department of Santa Cruz is attracting people from all of the highland regions, distance and roads seem to be affecting differences in volume of migration. Cochabamba, the nearest highland city and department and also the most accessible in terms of transportation networks, contributes 45 per cent of the sample population. Other departments are presented proportionately in relation to their relative distance from Santa Cruz. The category "other" includes localities such as road towns on the Santa Cruz-Cochabamba highway, and the southern department of Tarija. In contrast to

Table 45  
Place of Origin

Origin	Absolute Frequency	Relative Frequency (%)
Cochabamba	70	45.0
Sucre	29	19.0
Potosí	22	14.0
Oruro	15	10.0
Other	12	8.0
La Paz	6	4.0
Total	154	100.0

Proposition 11 of Alers and Applebaum which states that "geographic proximity of other departments to Lima is only slightly related to the number of migrants who go to Lima-Callao" (Alers and Applebaum 1968:5), factors of distance and accessibility are affecting the regional volume of migrants to Santa Cruz.

Aside from differences in regional origins, another characteristic feature of migrants in the lowlands is dress style. Dress patterns among males were uniformly mestizo, but then traditional male attire involves the use of homespun wool pants and a wool poncho--not at all suitable for the hot, humid climate of Santa Cruz. The women for the most part continued to use the pollera which has been adapted to the lowland environment by using light-weight fabrics. Seventy-six per cent of the female informants continue to use traditional wear. There appeared to be no relationship between length of residence in the lowlands, urban or rural orientations and dress patterns. Women who had lived in lowland cities for five or more years were just as likely to be using the pollera as a newly arrived rural migrant. The only divergence from this pattern was found among school-age girls in areas of high Camba concentration. None of these children would wear a pollera to school or use an indigenous language while in the presence of lowland peers. In the colonies,

where Cambas are generally absent, young girls frequently were seen in traditional dress and spoke Quechua or Aymara freely.

The use of an indigenous language appears to be more closely tied to sexual difference than to nature of the place of origin. Urban as well as rural females frequently spoke only a native language whereas all of the male informants were bilingual or monolingual Spanish users regardless of where they came from. Several of those females interviewed in the city of Santa Cruz exhibited little ability in Spanish although they had been lowland residents for five or more years. Since many of these women engage in commerce primarily with other migrants and live in migrant barrios, the need to learn Spanish has not arisen. In rural areas, and especially in the colonies, it is not uncommon to find females who have been in the lowlands for 10 years or more and who are completely monolingual indigenous speakers. Male occupations, on the other hand, tend to bring men into more frequent contact with lowlanders, thereby requiring a minimal ability to speak Spanish.

Despite occupational interactions, assimilation of migrants into the Cruceñan population is occurring slowly. Out of 154 informants, only two had lowland spouses, and many had contracted marriage in Santa Cruz, not in the highlands. Part of the problem no doubt is



due to the relative lack of constant exposure to Cambas. Urban migrants move into migrant barrios; rural migrants work with other highlanders in the cane and cotton harvests. In Santa Cruz, Warnes, Montero and the colonies, major interactions are with other migrants, not with lowlanders, and by the time highland migrants move to a small Camba village such as San Carlos, most are already married. The next generation nevertheless may bring about a change in this pattern. Migrants' children except in colonial situations are going to school with lowlanders. These young people are abandoning not only traditional dress but also their highland language. In essence, they want to belong to lowland society and not be associated with "foreign" traits from the interior. Some highland parents express concern that their offspring seemed embarrassed when Camba friends were in the migrant home. More than one highland mother complained that her sons and daughters had requested that she cut her hair and use mestizo dress. Although ethnic affinities are strong, it may be expected that numerous children of highland migrants will select lowland spouses as they arrive at a marriageable age.

Perhaps most notable of all migrant characteristics was the desire to remain in the lowlands. With very few exceptions, it was only the older, recently arrived migrant who expressed dissatisfaction with lowland

life. The others had found Santa Cruz not only a suitable habitat but one which they deemed far superior to highland Bolivia. The researcher found it curious that numerous informants in the lowlands who had spent most of their lives in the colder, drier highlands would complain of their former environment. Several informants did mention their dislike of the heat, but most found it preferable to the continual cold of the mountains. Throughout the study such comments were heard as "Me gusta aquí, aquí estoy bien" (I like it here, here I am fine), "En el interior no hay nada, frío y hambre no más" (In the interior there is nothing, cold and hunger, that's all), and "En el oriente hay para todos" (In the east, there is something for everyone).

#### Patterns of Migration in the Department of Santa Cruz

One of the immediately apparent results of studying migration on a regional scale is the emergence of a wide range of patterns or types of migration. While each of the six categories of migration outlined in Chapter One may be isolated for the purpose of analysis, in dealing with actual migrant cases it is rare to encounter only one pattern in evidence. This multiplicity of migration strategies becomes an important factor in discerning the total scheme of migration within a wider

territorial context. Hence, over a period of time the migrant unit may employ all six types of migration pattern in various permutations and combinations. In the next several pages, the researcher will explore the implications of each type of migration as it applies to the Bolivian case, but once again the reader is reminded that these patterns consistently act in concert or sequentially and are merely components of a total system of population flows.

#### 1. Single-Phase Migration

Of the total sample population of 154 persons, less than one-third reported that moving to their present location was their sole experience with migration. The majority of the single-phase migrants either were residents of the city of Santa Cruz and had arrived from a highland city, or were colonial inhabitants who had come directly from rural areas. The incidence of single-phase migration in Montero was proportionately much lower than that encountered in the extreme urban or extreme rural situation. In Warnes and San Carlos there were no migrants who had moved there directly from the place of origin.

It is also notable that those migrants from rural backgrounds who had made a single move from the place of origin were to be found only in the Yapaquí colony which

Table 46  
Single-Phase Migrants

Location	Number	Total Sample	Percentage
Santa Cruz	23	66	48.0
Warnes	0	20	00.0
Montero	3	26	11.0
San Carlos	0	7	00.0
Yapacaní	10	29	34.0
San Julián	0	6	00.0

has a long history of settlement. In most cases these persons were early colonists who had been brought from the interior by CBF directly to the colony in the early 1960's. The San Julián residents, along with the more recent Yapacaní settlers, entered these colonization areas after harvest seasons in other lowland sectors or, in the case of the repatriates, after having worked in the exterior.

Only in the case of highly urbanized situations, then, was single-phase migration a significant contribution to contemporary migration processes in the lowlands. It should be emphasized nevertheless that as may be the case with other types of migration, single-phase may

represent only a particular stage in a total sequence of migrations by the individual. It would be an interesting project to return to the study area at a later time to determine how many of the single-phase migrants have picked up stakes and moved on.

## 2. Temporary or Seasonal Migration

It has been estimated by personnel of Obras Públicas and the Federación de Campesinos that over half of the highlanders entering the Department of Santa Cruz do so as the result of harvesting opportunities. Many persons use seasonal migration as a means of preadaptation to lowland life. There may be numerous return trips made during a span of several years, or migrants may decide to remain after their first experience with the Santa Cruz harvests. Another contingent of migrants is perpetual seasonal workers using the income derived from harvesting as a slack season supplement to farm incomes.

Seasonal migration nevertheless may continue even after definitive relocation in the lowlands has occurred. Migrants who entered Santa Cruz via the cane- or cottonfields but who subsequently have obtained private ownership of land will often return to the fields as seasonal migrants like their highland counterparts. The rice harvest does not conflict with that of cane

or cotton and so many migrants working their own small farms will return to harvesting while awaiting the next planting season. Thus seasonality may continue as a way of life for many migrants engaged in near-subsistence horticulture.

Rural migrants who have become urban dwellers also frequently join the seasonal work force. In Warnes and Montero, for example, during the peak of the harvest season when field laborers are in demand, trucks or tractors with trailers are driven through the migrant neighborhoods in search of volunteers.

The influx of seasonal migrants directed toward fieldwork is accompanied concurrently by that of the camp-followers. Chicheras and people engaged in commerce often migrate from the interior solely for the duration of the harvest after which they return to the highlands.

### 3. Step Migration

The progressive movement from one locality to another is regularly occurring among the migrant population of Bolivia. Before coming to the lowlands, 18 per cent of the sample group had made a previous rural-urban move. Rural-urban migration by stages continues to occur among highlanders already in the lowlands, and, as mentioned previously, Montero may become an important

intermediate step toward residence in the city of Santa Cruz.

Harvesting, however, has contributed to the largest incidence of step migration in the lowlands. Among the rural migrants, 64 per cent used harvesting as a first stage in acquiring the necessary exposure for permanent settlement in the lowlands. Some harvesters moved to Warnes and Montero to begin an urban existence, but many others subsequently obtained farmland near villages. Of those individuals who initially selected rural life after working in the harvests, many ultimately acquired urban property and left the farm.

Step migration is also to be found among the colonist group. After a decade or so in an agricultural settlement, a family may decide to move to a nearby village or even to Montero where public services such as schools are available. In this and other examples of movement by stages, the steps may not always be in a direct progression toward increased urbanism or rurality, or consistent monetary gain. For example, a rural highlander may make a single-phase migration to a colony or arrive there via the harvest. After several years of labor in the colony a move is made to a village such as San Carlos where a house may be purchased. Viewed over time, each of these discreet patterns of migration (i. e., single-phase, seasonal, rural-rural,

rural-urban) may be considered "steps" toward eventual establishment in a particular locality. Step migration, then, may be retrogressive at times or involve other types of migration along the way.

#### 4. Sequential Migration

Among many of the urban-oriented migrants, a series of sequential horizontal moves has become an expected part of existence. Because of unstable economic conditions in the interior, highlanders often find it necessary to move from city to city in order to maintain continual employment. Over one-third of the migrant sample population in the city of Santa Cruz had migrated among highland cities prior to coming to the lowlands. For many of these individuals, the move to Santa Cruz was considered just one in a sequence of similar lateral migrations.

In rural areas of the lowlands, sequential moves are a well-established part of campesino existence whether Camba or Kolla. When farmlands are depleted and the agriculturalist has neither the capital nor the inclination to convert to cattle ranching, the property often reverts to those with the resources and incentive to put in pasture for forage animals. The swidden horticulturist will then move to another parcel of forest which can be cut and burned for dry rice cultivation.



In previous years, there was adequate monte to permit slash-and-burn horticulture with very little concern for land ownership. Squatters' rights were upheld, and even the landed gentry often looked the other way when someone cut down a hectare or two for rice. Today, however, property suitable for farming is at a premium, making the practice of shifting agriculture increasingly difficult. Many farmers now must settle for second-growth forest instead of the preferred virgin monte alto. In the future, pressures for land can be expected to hinder significantly the mobility of the swidden horticultur-  
alist.

##### 5. Chain Migration

Perhaps more than any single factor influencing the development of migration streams in Bolivia and perhaps in other areas of the world as well has been that of chain migration. In all five study sites there was consistent affirmation of the important role that other migrants had played in the decision to move to the lowlands.

Chain migration was operative in the city of Santa Cruz both in augmenting the volume and rate of migration and in determining composition of barrios. Among the seasonal migrants yearly sojourns in the lowlands had a multiplying effect, and more and more persons

were encouraged to leave their highland farms and villages to migrate to Santa Cruz. The agricultural colonies are filled with extended kin groups and regional residential units which recruited their migrant membership as a result of chain migration.

With few exceptions, individuals interviewed during the investigation revealed that someone has supplied the additional information or impetus which resulted in migration. The rapid increase in rates and volumes of highlanders leaving the interior for lowland residence may be viewed as a direct consequence of chain migration. As increasing numbers of migrants enter the Santa Cruz region and find employment and other opportunities, positive feedback occurs and even greater incidences of migration are generated. Although the government's dream of redistributing the highland population into the lowland regions is at last becoming reality, this process has occurred almost in spite of national efforts to organize and execute migration programs.

#### 6. Multiple Resource Migration

While groups of migrants are involved in sequential, step, seasonal or other patterns of migration, another segment of the immigrant population is concerned with the exploitation of multiple resources through the exercise of a type of migration which permits the

simultaneous management of spatially and economically diverse holdings. As far as the researcher was able to determine, multiple resource migration seems to be restricted to rural migrants. Because this type of migration often involves a combination of rural and urban property acquisitions, the urban dweller does not seem to be in the initial position necessary for resource expansion along these lines. Perhaps the closest the urbanite in the city of Santa Cruz comes to multiple resource migration is through the attainment of rental properties within the city. However, a fine distinction does exist between property acquired specifically for the use of nonkin and property which is considered an extension of the family residence, the latter case representing actual multiple resource migration.

Wherever rural people are found, however, multiple resource migration is also present. The acquisition of numerous properties in differing social and economic environments seems to be a response to the migrant's propensity for entrepreneurial endeavors as well as a result of long-standing highland traditions. The migrant unit which engages in multiple resource migration usually has been more successful and more astute in managing and accumulating resources than its counterpart which moves by step progressions or horizontally. In the latter cases, property holdings

normally must be liquidated to finance the next migration. The individuals who engage in multiple resource migration on the other hand have consolidated adequate capital to allow for the simultaneous holding of diverse properties in several localities.

This pattern of migration has proved to be extremely adaptive to the present economic structure of the Department of Santa Cruz. The small farmer finds it difficult to expand his income solely through agricultural activities. Swidden horticulture is labor intensive so, unless a family has a large number of resident males, profits must give way to labor costs. By moving into other economic endeavors, not only are new sources of income available, but they also allow for a greater division of labor. Females, the elderly, and often children who contribute only partially to farm incomes are now engaged in commercial or other enterprises which render these individuals full participants in the economic sphere of family activity.

#### The Process of Migration: Testing the Lee Hypotheses

The movement of individuals from one place to another is not random but rather exhibits certain regularities. According to Everett Lee, population flows or streams result from discernible processes which are

governed by numerous factors at the points of origin and destination, by the intervening obstacles, and by a series of personal attributes. As outgrowth of this initial theoretical framework, Lee has devised a set of hypotheses concerning the volume of migration under varying conditions, the development of a stream and counterstream, and migrant characteristics. These hypotheses were generated with the intent of providing a series of principles with universal applicability for the analysis of migration processes. The Lee hypotheses of migration will now be tested with reference to the Santa Cruz data.

#### Volume of Migration

1. The volume of migration within a given territory varies with the degree of diversity of areas included in that territory.

In the case of Santa Cruz, this first principle has particular relevance. As the economic situation in the department improves, more areas are made accessible for settlement by agriculturalists and revenues are available for urban development. The existence of diverse socioeconomic environments in both the urban and rural sectors has given great impetus to the movement of population from the interior of Bolivia to the lowlands. This wide range of opportunity has created strong incentives for migration not only among the urban and rural poor, but also has occasioned a less visible stream

of white collar workers and wealthy elite who have found lowland life not only profitable but enjoyable. The contemporary American phrase, "That's where the action is" may be translated as "movimiento" in Spanish, and Santa Cruz certainly is the Bolivian center of movimiento.

2. The volume of migration varies with the diversity of people.

This second hypothesis is derived from the first. A diversity of settlement situations calls forth a diversity of migrants. The greater the settlement diversity, the greater the opportunities for the individual seeking his or her particular niche at the point of destination. Whereas the first migrants to the Department of Santa Cruz were primarily agriculturalists, the expansion of the lowland economy has created a whole new set of occupational possibilities which many types of highlanders may pursue. Then too, the mere presence of migrants in the area has also brought about the introduction of occupational specialties previously not found in Santa Cruz (i. e., chicheras, seamstresses to manufacture polleras, and coca vendors). As job diversity increases, more migrants are attracted to the lowlands, which augments rates and volumes of population flows, which generate more jobs. Diversification thus becomes a self-perpetuating mechanism for increasing migration flow to an area.

3. The volume of migration is related to the difficulty of surmounting the intervening obstacles.

The presence or absence of roads in Bolivia has been an important factor in influencing migration. Until the Santa Cruz-Cochabamba highway was opened in 1954, there was virtually no migration in or out of the department. Once the road was completed, however, individuals gradually began to move to the lowland region on their own initiative or were brought there by government agencies to become colonists. Not only did highways facilitate travel, but transportation costs were reduced. As more roads were opened through Santa Cruz, migration increased in volume and expanded in spatial distribution.

Factors of distance also have been of significant consequence in determining the differential flows of migration into the department. As was outlined in the "Characteristics of Migrants" section of the present chapter, Cochabamba, the nearest highland center, has supplied the greatest number of migrants to Santa Cruz. After Cochabamba, each region is represented proportionately according to its relative distance from the lowland territories.

4. The volume of migration varies with fluctuations in the economy.

Reference to this fourth proposition has been made repeatedly while discussing the previous hypotheses,

highlighting the integrative nature of migration processes. The economic problems of the interior of Bolivia appear to be getting worse while economic prosperity in the lowlands is on an upswing. Both of these push and pull factors are influencing the mounting volume of Santa Cruz-bound migrants. It is also notable that although transportation routes to the lowlands had been open for some time, it was not until the economic boom in Santa Cruz that migration to the department began to occur on a large-scale basis. If there were to be a slowdown or a reversal of the present economic decline in the highlands, the number of migrants coming to Santa Cruz also would be expected to decrease proportionately.

5. Unless severe checks are imposed, both volume and rate of migration tend to increase with time.

As mentioned with regard to the first and second hypotheses, diversification of settlement areas and of migrants in Santa Cruz has led to greater volumes and rates of population flow. This process is enhanced further by the pattern of chain migration. If relative success is achieved in the new lowland environment, each established migrant has a multiplying effect on further movement to the point of destination. Word is carried back to the point of origin by the migrant in person or is passed along an informal network, often resulting in



the positive influence on additional persons to make the move to Santa Cruz. Unless checks are imposed, therefore, volume and rate of migration to the department will continue to increase over time.

6. The volume and rate of migration vary with the state of progress in a country or area.

This final hypothesis concerning rate and volume of migration does not appear to be valid for the Santa Cruz situation. What Lee evidently had in mind when he formulated this sixth principle was the movement from nonindustrial nations to industrial, or the internal movement within a country from nonindustrial areas to those which are. He states that "we should, therefore, expect to find heavy immigration to developed countries where this is permitted, and within such countries a high rate of internal migration" (Lee 1968:292). Whereas this hypothesis seems to fit patterns in highly industrialized nations, it does not explain the current migration processes in Bolivia.

It is very debatable whether the Department of Santa Cruz can be considered more developed and as exhibiting a higher degree of "progress" than the remainder of the nation. Progress is a very subjective concept, and for Santa Cruz should only be used in terms of the region's relatively more rapid economic growth.

Roads are being constructed at a faster pace in the lowlands than is occurring in the interior, and more funds are available for rural and urban development. Still, in other ways, most urban as well as rural areas of Santa Cruz are less than, or only as developed as those of the highlands. Among the lowland cities, available services are on a par with the urban centers of the interior, and in many instances are a good deal inferior to those of the highland cities. In the rural areas of the department, there is the same absence of creature comforts as is encountered in mountain villages. It is not "progress" in terms of increased availability of goods and services which seems to be attracting migrants to Santa Cruz, but economic opportunity and land options. In many instances such as colonization, an individual may opt for less "progress" than was left behind in the highlands.

#### Stream and Counterstream

1. Migration tends to take place largely within well-defined streams.

Movement to the Department of Santa Cruz follows distinctive flow patterns. People seek specific destinations in the lowlands or move in recognizable streams from one lowland settlement area to another. Since this

aspect of migration will be the topic of the following section, the particular flow patterns throughout the department for the moment will be described only briefly. There are two discreet population movements to the lowlands, one urban and one rural. Once in the Santa Cruz region, the urban migrants do not display the mobility of their rural counterparts. The rural migrant, however, enters into a system involving numerous patterns of migration which enable continued and/or increased access to available resources. These internal streams will be examined in detail as the flow model for migration in the department is developed.

2. For every major stream, a counterstream develops.

Although return to the highlands has been discussed only peripherally, primarily in relation to seasonal migration, it can be considered an integral part of the Santa Cruz migration arena. Unfortunately, as was the case with migration flows into the department, there are no statistics available concerning the rate of return. The researcher is of the opinion that counterstreams at present, except in the case of seasonal migrants, are negligible. Very few informants expressed a desire to return to their place of origin. What apparently does occur, nevertheless, is a temporary counterstream. Over half of the total sample population

stated that they made periodic visits to the interior, and several individuals commented that they frequently engaged in trading forays to the highlands.

3. The efficiency of the stream (ratio of stream to counterstream or the net redistribution of population affected by the opposite flows) is high if the major factors in the development of a migration stream were minus factors at origin.

As Lee emphasized, "this point is so obvious that it hardly needs elaboration. Few of the Irish who fled famine conditions returned to Ireland, and few American Negroes return to the South" (Lee 1968:294). Although it can be argued that plus factors at the point of destination were equally if not more influential than minus factors at origin in the development of migration streams to Santa Cruz, the negative aspects of highland life certainly have contributed to the high efficiency of these streams. Migrants often cited a harsh environment, poor soils, inadequate farmlands, and lack of opportunity as major deterrants to returning to the highlands.

4. The efficiency of stream and counterstream tends to be low if origin and destination are similar.

The Santa Cruz data do not confirm this hypothesis because one is dealing with dissimilar socioeconomic environments. However, the data do suggest that the

hypothesis is biconditional since highland origin and lowland destination in Bolivia are unlike, and the efficiency of the stream directed toward the Santa Cruz region remains high. This is evidenced by the large number of negative responses by informants regarding the desire to return to the interior.

5. The efficiency of migration streams will be high if the intervening obstacles are great.

Regarding this principle, Lee hypothesizes that "migrants who overcome a considerable set of intervening obstacles do so for compelling reasons, and such migrations are not undertaken lightly" (Lee 1968:294).

Perhaps the most striking Bolivian example of this proposition is to be found in the comparative statistics of lowland colonization projects. The Alto Beni east of La Paz and the Chapare east of Cochabamba are within less than a day's journey from their respective highland regions. Consequently, time and travel expense are minimal. On the other hand, the Yapacaní project northwest of Santa Cruz until recently was several days from the highlands and required considerable cash outlay to make the trip. In looking at the rates of abandonment for these three colonies, however, it is evident that the Yapacaní, with a ten-year abandonment average of 33 per cent, was lower than either the Alto Beni at 55 per cent or the Chapare at 46 per cent (Galleguillos 1970:4-6).

Colony officials in these latter two zones frequently complained that migrants would put in a crop and then go back to the highlands where they would remain until harvest time. The short distance and relative ease of movement between the colonies and their nearest highland population center were viewed as detrimental to the colonization effort. In the Yapacaní, this process of seasonal colonization was much less evident (Stearman, M. 1967). Again, this suggests a biconditional hypothesis since the efficiency of migration streams is low if the intervening obstacles are not great.

6. The efficiency of a migration stream varies with economic conditions, being high in prosperous times and low in times of depression.

Everett Lee explains this hypothesis as follows.

During boom times the usual areas of destination, that is, the great centers of commerce and industry, expand rapidly, and relatively few persons, either return migrants or others, make the countermove. In times of depression, however, many migrants return to the area of origin, and others move toward the comparatively "safer" nonindustrialized areas. (Lee 1968:294)

At present the economic boom in Santa Cruz is contributing to the high efficiency of the stream of migrants into the department. If a recession should hit the area, or, as Lee has failed to include in his hypothesis, if prosperity should come to the highlands, a

substantial counterstream would develop, lowering the efficiency of the stream. If Santa Cruz were to experience an actual depression, it may then be hypothesized that stream and counterstream would be reversed, with the majority of migrants along with lowland natives moving toward the Bolivian interior if conditions there were better.

### Characteristics of Migrants

#### 1. Migration is selective.

Migrants are not a random sample of the population at the place of origin, according to Lee, but are those individuals who have responded selectively to the plus and minus factors at the points of origin and destination. As Stillman Bradfield discovered during his study of brothers in Huaylas and Lima, Peru, migrants possess certain attributes which make them more likely to migrate than someone with a different set of personal characteristics. In Santa Cruz, the average migrant tended to be young, married (usually to another highlander), entrepreneurial in orientation, and had a history of previous migrations.

Aside from personal attributes of the migrants, selectivity may also reflect the degree of settlement site diversification. During the early years of migration

by highlanders to the lowlands, available opportunities tended to select landless campesinos who were attracted to agricultural colonies in the hinterlands. As diversity in settlement types and opportunities expanded throughout the department, selectivity also began to widen its scope to include a greater field of prospective migrants.

2. Migrants responding primarily to plus factors at destination tend to be positively selected.

It is doubtful that many of the Bolivian migrants in the lowlands were exclusively selected positively or negatively which according to Lee implies that "these persons are under no necessity to migrate but do so because they perceive opportunities from afar and they can weigh the advantages and disadvantages at origin and destination" (Lee 1968:295). The only segment of the Santa Cruz migrant population which is positively selected according to Lee's criteria would be the elite. It might be argued, however, that positive selection is a matter of degree and is not an absolute. Prospective Bolivian migrants may be well aware of negative factors influencing their need to migrate. Even so, positive attractions may have much greater influence on the decision to relocate in the lowlands. Lee no doubt would question whether such migrants are



in fact positively selected; nevertheless, it can be argued that although Lee's premise is essentially correct, it does not reflect reality, at least in the Bolivian case.

3. Migrants responding primarily to minus factors at origin tend to be negatively selected; or where the minus factors are overwhelming to entire population groups, they may not be selected at all.

Once again, both negative and positive factors enter into the decision to migrate, and many migrants may not conform absolutely to Lee's definition of negative selection. Among the migrant population in Santa Cruz, exiles, runaways, and Bolivian repatriates would probably come closest to Lee's criteria for negative selection, but the remaining migrants would necessarily fall at some intermediary point between the negative and positive polarities.

4. Taking all migrants together, selection tends to be bimodal.

Everett Lee's explanation of this fourth hypothesis evolves out of the idea that migrants are either positively or negatively selected and, when viewed as a total population, tend to arrive at an equilibrium creating bimodal selection. This investigator contends that many individual migrant decisions may be bimodal, with both positive and negative selection operating concurrently.

Santa Cruz migrants frequently discuss motivations in terms of both minus characteristics in the interior and plus factors in the lowlands. Only rarely was an informant certain that he or she had responded exclusively to push factors at origin or pull factors at destination.

5. The degree of positive selection increases with the difficulty of the intervening obstacles.

Although migrants generally may be bimodally selected, if intervening obstacles are great enough, then those persons who exhibit greater positive motivations are more likely to migrate. The individual who is equally motivated by plus and minus factors will view the intervening obstacles as an additional negative input, and migration risks then become too high.

Since Bolivians who did not migrate do not enter into the present study, it cannot be determined what influence intervening obstacles have on prospective highland migrants. Nevertheless, regional volumes of migration do differ according to relative proximity to the lowlands, leading one to postulate that those migrants from distant localities tend to be more positively selected than those from nearby districts.

6. The heightened propensity to migrate at certain stages of the life-cycle is important in the selection of migrants.

Lee proposes that migration may be conceived as a type of rite de passage affecting certain age groups

or persons of altered status (i. e., discharged soldiers, newlyweds, or the widowed). The Santa Cruz data support this hypothesis in certain cases, but it could not be considered a general theme of migration process in the lowlands. In several instances, young girls and boys who have reached puberty mark their entrance to sexual, if not social maturity by joining the seasonal harvest force. They often come to the lowlands in pairs of the same sex or in mixed groups and are unaccompanied by parents or other adult relatives. Regarding newlyweds, however, it was much more common to find the male or female migrating first as a single person, then either marrying a highlander in the lowlands or returning to the interior to find a spouse. Other migrant couples generally were married for at least a year before coming to Santa Cruz.

7. The characteristics of migrants tend to be intermediate between the characteristics of the population at origin and the population at destination.

Since data regarding the individuals who remained at the point of origin have not entered into the present study, only tentative conclusions may be reached concerning the ambivalent status of Bolivian migrants. Since migration is selective, one may assume that migrants do differ qualitatively from those who stay behind. However, in speaking of migrants meeting half-way

the characteristics of persons at the point of destination, Lee seems to be focusing primarily on rural-urban migrants. When these persons leave the place of origin, they have already adopted many "intermediate characteristics" of the population at destination such as manner of dress, language and values. Most of the rural-urban migrants in the lowlands have been urbanized in the highlands and so have attained many of the traits associated with the urbanite before they arrive in the lowlands. They know how to function in a large population center in most realms of endeavor. It is notable, however, especially among female migrants, that pressures to give up traditional language and dress are not as great as would be expected. Many migrant women display pride rather than shame in clinging to the old highland ways and proudly wear the pollera down the main streets of Santa Cruz. This may be due in part to the highlander's failure to project the expected image of social inferiority as is encountered in many similar cases of acculturation where one group is in a dominant position. Rather, migrants perceive of themselves as superior in many ways to their Camba neighbors, conforming to what Ralph Linton terms a "dominant/dominated-superiority contact situation" (Linton 1965:503).

The rural highlander generally selects an initial rural environment in the lowlands such as harvesting or

farming in a colony. There is no need, therefore, to acquire "intermediate characteristics" since migration is occurring between two homologous situations.

The hypotheses of Everett Lee are by no means a definitive statement on migration theory, and in many instances they demonstrate the same prejudices of other contemporary migration studies which assume that all significant migration is of a rural-urban nature. Lee nevertheless has provided a partial framework for the exploration and analysis of push and pull factors, volume of migration, stream and counterstream and characteristics of migrants as they pertain to the Santa Cruz case.

Migration and the Department of Santa Cruz:  
A Flow Model

After an absence of six years, the researcher returned to the Santa Cruz region to find many changes had occurred, including the recent arrival of an overwhelming number of Bolivian highlanders. In 1968, persons from the interior were to be encountered only in limited numbers and in certain areas of the department. Although there were at the time highlanders residing in the cities of Santa Cruz and Montero, they were few and not highly visible. The majority of migrants remained located in the agricultural colonies or entered the region on a seasonal basis to work in the sugarcane harvest.

By 1975, highlanders were to be seen everywhere. Large barrios of migrants had sprung up on the outskirts of the city of Santa Cruz and Montero. The market places were now dominated by women wearing derby hats and polleras, and new markets had opened to meet the growing demands of a rapidly expanding population. Cotton had been introduced to the agricultural scene and numerous small Camba towns became caught up in the flurry of commercial farming. Migrants began to settle in these communities, many of which for the first time could count highlanders among their populations. Migrants even had invaded the peasant villages scattered throughout the region. And of course, colonization continued as a major attraction for rural migrants.

In viewing the foregoing migrant scene, the first image to emerge was that of utter chaos. Highlanders were in every nook and cranny of Santa Cruz, riding on buses and trucks, swarming in the market places, and settling in any available space. But as Everett Lee maintains, "migrants proceed along well defined routes toward highly specific destinations" (Lee 1968:292). As each study site was investigated during the research project, patterns soon began to emerge from the apparent chaos. Migration to, within, and out of the department eventually could be discerned as an orderly, systematic process which displayed specific

flows or streams of migrants. This is graphically represented in Figure 10.

### Primary Flows

There are two primary flows or streams of migrants to the lowlands. The first consists of urban-oriented individuals who have obtained urbanity as the result of a prior rural-urban move in the highlands or urban ascription. The large majority of these individuals arrive in the lowlands to locate in the city of Santa Cruz where they continue an urban existence not dissimilar to that which they left in the interior. A small number of city dwellers from the highlands use harvesting as a means of entry, but these persons subsequently move either to Santa Cruz or Montero. Another segment of the urban stream goes directly to Montero where they commonly engage in commercial activities such as merchandising or in chicha sale.

The second primary stream is composed of rural highlanders. A substantial portion of this flow enters the lowland region via harvesting. Another smaller segment immediately heads for colonization zones in search of land. After the initial entry of the rural migrant, secondary flows of migration commence.





### Secondary Flows

A secondary migration flow may be defined as that which occurs subsequent to arrival in the lowlands. Since most urban migrants tend to remain in their urban points of destination, secondary migration streams appear negligible among this group. Rural migrants, however, engage in numerous patterns of secondary moves which follow differing flow directions.

- a. Harvest to small town (e. g. Warnes)
- b. Harvest to Montero
- c. Harvest - Montero - village (e. g. San Carlos)
- d. Harvest - Montero - colony (e. g. Yapacaní,  
San Julián)

Montero as a labor and information brokerage becomes a temporary site of residents for rural-bound migrants, and in many cases serves only as a point of departure to other areas in the northern Santa Cruz region.

### Tertiary Flows

After lowland residence has been established by the migrant, usually rural, in villages or colonies, additional migration may subsequently occur. This may take the form of step, lateral, multiple resource, or seasonal migrations. Although return to a place of origin normally would be considered a counterstream, it often

becomes a tertiary flow in the case of Santa Cruz migrants. For example, many rural migrants enter Montero after the harvest and depart from that locality for other settlement areas. Nevertheless, after having lived for a number of years in a village or in a colony, the migrant unit may acquire property in Montero as the result of a desire to optimize its resources or opportunities.

Another tertiary flow exists among those migrants living in remote agricultural areas. Rather than Montero, they frequently will select a small village as a subsequent or additional settlement site.

In the colonies, tertiary flows are evident among those migrants who move within and among colonial centers as a result of the need to acquire more land or land more productive than that which they presently hold.

Finally, many rural migrants continue to operate within the seasonal labor force. Thus a tertiary flow of migrants based on seasonality and which proceeds from villages and colonies to zones of commercial agriculture is evident during the harvest period. These highland migrants are extremely influential in the process of chain migration in that they come into direct contact with newly arrived migrants from the interior. The older, settled migrant is often instrumental in convincing the new person to remain.

### Bolivian Migrants from the Exterior

The movement of persons across international borders between Bolivia and its contiguous neighbors is a common occurrence. Many Bolivians enter these countries legally, but illegal migration is also prevalent. If fortunate, illegal aliens may not be caught. They may marry nationals and thereby establish legal residence, or they may acquire a set of falsified documents. When they are discovered, however, they must return to Bolivia. In recent years, these repatriates, of both rural and urban orientation, are choosing to migrate to Santa Cruz in preference to returning to the interior. Many of those coming out of Argentina, for example, are persons who have worked in the grape and vegetable harvests in the Mendoza area, and they easily make the transition to cane and cotton harvesting in Santa Cruz. Others, such as the repatriates from Chile, do not adapt well to lowland life, or at least to that of the colonies, and have found means of returning to their adopted country.

### Lowland Migration Flows

The process of migration among lowlanders has not been a focus of this study which is concerned primarily with the presence of highlanders in Santa Cruz. This

parallel stream of migrants, although separate from that of highlanders, is a definite influencing factor on much of the intradepartmental movement by persons from the interior. The Camba migration stream is mainly one of a rural-urban nature, and it is directed toward the city of Santa Cruz in contrast to the highland rural-urban flow toward Montero. This movement by lowlanders has left vacancies in other areas, and these newly unoccupied socioeconomic slots are being filled by highlanders. In 1885, E. G. Ravenstein described a similar situation in Great Britain: "The inhabitants of the country immediately surrounding a town of rapid growth flock into it; the gaps thus left in the rural population are filled up by migrants from more remote districts. . . ." (Ravenstein 1885:199). In the case of Santa Cruz, these migrants "from the more remote districts" are usually highlanders.

#### The Impact of Migration on Camba Society

It is always dangerous to speak about the traits of entire populations, and many social scientists who have done so have been criticized from all quarters for their sweeping generalizations. The same problem is inherent in trying to assess how highlanders and lowlanders view each other, why certain prejudices exist and what will be the outcome of continued acculturation.

Most lowlanders express certain stereotyped images of the "typical" highlander while highlanders are just as adamant that they have accurate perceptions of the average Camba. Most Cambas maintain that highlanders are hard workers but dirty, slow witted, and not to be trusted. Highlanders, on the other hand, will often describe Cambas as lazy, drunkards, unfaithful to their spouses, but fun-loving. The intensity of first-hand contact is beginning to erode many of these stereotypes, but as yet prejudice remains strong.

The animosity of lowlanders toward Bolivians from the interior is a long-standing problem of national integration. Many Cruceños insist they are "racially superior" to highlanders because of a believed higher percentage of European admixture. Even so, the great hatreds toward highlanders have developed as a result of a long history of political turmoil on a national as well as international level. The independent Cruceño has always resisted and resented the political hegemony of the highlands. Order in the Department of Santa Cruz traditionally has been maintained by highland soldiers, exacerbating an already volatile situation. During the Chaco War, Cambas were not allowed to form their own regiments, and when the MNR came to power in 1952, once again contingents of wool-clad highland recruits were sent to Santa Cruz to help implement the Reform.

Whereas many lowlanders publicly admit to a dislike of persons from the interior, it is also common to find real hatreds actively cultivated. Like all prejudice, it begins as a part of the enculturative process, and children are taught the popular derisive phrases. "Kolla de porra" (knothead Kolla), "Kolla de mierda" (shitty Kolla), and "Kolla de puta" (whore's Kolla) are frequently repeated by Camba youth.

When most highlanders arrive in Santa Cruz, they are aware that such prejudices exist, but are unprepared for the level of animosity which is often demonstrated. If highlanders come to Santa Cruz with a desire to get along with Cambas, they learn quickly that the best they can hope for at present is mutual tolerance. Still, a certain degree of reverse discrimination is practiced by highlanders, and those who are jibed by Cambas may be heard to retort "Camba flojo" (lazy Camba), "Camba pfcaro" (Camba rogue) or the old standby, "Camba de mierda."

Although mutual acceptance by highlanders and lowlanders is a long way from realization, the situation has improved somewhat over the years. When the researcher was in Santa Cruz in 1968, it was not uncommon for a village shopkeeper to refuse service to a highland campesino. Today, this would seldom occur. There are too many highlanders in the region to simply ignore them. But even

more importantly, lowlanders are very much aware that highlanders have contributed appreciably to the economic prosperity shared by all.

The migrants who come to Santa Cruz for the most part are upwardly mobile and ambitious. They are also entrepreneurs and will turn most any venture into a capital gain. Lowlanders stand bewildered at the rate at which the Cruceñan economic scene is being dominated by highlanders. The Kolla is outfarming and outselling the Camba in every corner of the region. Some lowlanders accept philosophically the apparent take-over of their territory, but for others it only leads to more bitterness.

As yet, assimilation is occurring slowly. Most highlanders prefer to select their spouses from among other migrants or return to the interior to marry. Their children, however, may initiate the first moves toward the eventual merging of these two cultural entities. Highland migrant children are eager to throw off the ways of their parents and adopt those of Cambas. They want to dress like lowlanders, speak only Spanish, and choose their peers from among Cambas. It is quite probable that many of these first-generation Cruceñans will choose lowlanders for spouses.

Although Cambas are now the numerically dominant social group, most highlanders do not accept cultural

domination by lowlanders. As a result, many highland traditions not only are preserved by the migrant sector but are intentionally perpetuated by it. Ralph Linton, in discussing some aspects of nativistic movements, refers to this activity as "rational perpetuative nativism" whereby certain characteristics of a culture become "symbols of the society's existence as a unique entity" (Linton 1965:501). Thus traditions such as highland hairstyles, the use of the pollera and the presence of chicherías take on even greater importance to migrants than could be expected in the native habitat. Linton also mentions that retention of specific cultural elements may become a means by which group solidarity is maintained. Hence social sanctions such as avoidance and malicious gossip often are directed toward those highland women who forsake traditional dress and thereby represent a threat to migrant cohesiveness.

Santa Cruz also presents an interesting case in that it manifests an uncommon acculturative situation in which a pattern of dominance by the Cambas exists but, at the same time, in which there is an absence of the expected self-perception of inferiority by the highlanders. Consequently, mountain traditions persist not only because they are symbols of ethnic pride or because they have become a means to maintain migrant solidarity, but because highlanders feel that their way of life is in many respects superior to that of Cambas.



Due to the migrants' trenchant perpetuation of highland custom, their presence is being felt strongly among the dominant lowlanders. Cambas have adopted new dietary patterns and marketing traditions previously unknown in Santa Cruz. Then too, the industrious and ambitious highlander is beginning to spur the less competitive lowlander into fuller participation in the regional and national economic scene.

Highlanders are changing the face of Santa Cruz, often in ways which the Camba finds distressing. Nevertheless, few lowlanders would disagree that, since the advent of large-scale migration of highlanders to Santa Cruz, the department has at last begun to move on a steady course of economic prosperity and increased individual opportunity. In 1928, the noted sociologist, Robert Parke, commented

Migrations, with all the incidental collisions, conflicts and fusions of peoples and cultures, have been accounted among the decisive forces in history. It has been said that every advance in culture commences with a new period of migration and movement of populations.  
(Parke 1928:881)

## REFERENCES CITED

Alers, J. Oscar and Richard P. Applebaum

- 1968 "La Migración en el Perú, un Inventario de Proposiciones." Un proyecto del Instituto de Estudios Peruanos. Estudios de Población y Desarrollo. Vol. 1, No. 4, Serie Original No. 2. Lima.

Arensberg, Conrad

- 1968 The Irish Countryman. Garden City, New York. The Natural History Press.

Beaujeu-Garnier, J.

- 1966 Geography of Population. London. Longmans, Green and Company.

Bonilla, Frank

- 1961 "Rio's Favelas." American Universities Fieldstaff Reports. East Coast South America Series. Vol. 8, No. 3.

Bradfield, Stillman

- 1973 "Selectivity in Rural-Urban Migration: The Case of Huaylas, Peru." Pp. 351-372 in A. Southall (Ed.) Urban Anthropology. New York. Oxford University Press.

Brush, Stephen B.

- 1974 "Peru's Invisible Migrants: A Case Study of Inter-Andean Migration." Paper prepared for the Symposium on the Community and the Hacienda Reconsidered: The Andean Case. Annual Meetings of the American Anthropological Association. Mexico City.

Caldwell, John C.

- 1969 African Rural-Urban Migration. New York. Columbia University Press.

Carter, William E.

- 1967 Comunidades Aymaras y Reforma Agraria en Bolivia.  
Mexico. Instituto Indigenista Interamericano.  
Serie: Antropología Social, 6.

Chirikos, Thomas N. et al.

- 1971 Human Resources in Bolivia. Center for Human  
Resource Research. Columbus. Ohio State Uni-  
versity. April.

Clark, Ronald James

- 1968 "Land Reform and Peasant Market Participation on  
the North Highlands of Bolivia." Land Economics.  
Vol. 64, May. Pp. 153-172.

Cochrane, Thomas T.

- 1973 El Potencial Agrícola del Uso de la Tierra en  
Bolivia. Un Mapa de Sistemas de Tierras. La Paz.  
Misión Británica en Agricultura Tropical. Mini-  
sterio de Agricultura.

Crist, Raymond E. and Charles M. Nissley

- 1973 East from the Andes. University of Florida Social  
Sciences Monograph No. 50. Gainesville. Univer-  
sity of Florida Press.

Cusack, Patricia L.

- 1967 "The Evolution of Colonization in Bolivia." Un-  
published paper. Gainesville. University of Florida.

Doughty, Paul

- 1972 "What makes a City in Peru? A Question of Public  
Policy and Public Service." A working paper pre-  
pared for the 22nd Annual Latin American Conference,  
Center for Latin American Studies, University of  
Florida. February 15-22.

- 1970 "Behind the Back of the City: Provincial Life in  
Lima, Peru." Pp. 30-46 in W. Mangin (ed.)  
Peasants in Cities. Boston. Houghton Mifflin  
Company.

Duquid, Julian

- 1931 Green Hell. New York. The Century Company.

Fawcett, Percy H.

1924 Exploration Fawcett. London (?). Hutchinson.

Federación de Campesinos

1975 Personal Communication.

Ferragut, Castro

1961 "Principal Characteristics of the Agricultural Colonies of Bolivia and Suggestions for a Colonization Policy." La Paz. FAO. United Nations.

Finot, Enrique

1954 Nueva Historia de Bolivia. La Paz. Papelería y Editorial Gisbert y Cia., S.A.

1939 Historia de la Conquista del Oriente Boliviano. Buenos Aires. Librería "Cervantes."

Foster, George

1961 "The Dyadic Contract: A Model for the Social Structure of a Mexican Peasant Village." American Anthropologist. Vol. 63. Pp. 1173-1192.

Galleguillos, Adolfo

1970 "Análisis y Resultados Obtenidos en la Promoción y Asentamiento de Colonos." La Paz. Instituto Nacional de Colonización.

Gherzi Barrera, Humberto and Henry F. Dobyns

1963 "Migración por Etapas: El Caso del Valle del Viru." Pp. 152-159 in Henry F. Dobyns and Mario C. Vásquez (Eds.) Migración e Integración en el Perú. Lima. Editorial Estudios Andinos. Monografía Andina No. 2.

Harding, Thomas G.

1970 "Adaptation and Stability. Pp. 45-68 in Marshall D. Sahlins and Elman R. Service (Eds.) Evolution and Culture. Ann Arbor. University of Michigan Press.

Harris, Marvin

1968 The Rise of Anthropological Theory. New York. Thomas Y. Crowell Company.

Heath, Dwight B.

- 1959 "Camba. A Study of Land and Society in Eastern Bolivia." Ph.D. Dissertation. Yale University.

Henkel, Ray

- 1971 "The Chapare of Bolivia: A Study of Tropical Agriculture in Transition." Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Wisconsin.

Heyduk, Daniel

- 1971 "Huayrapampa: Bolivian Highland Peasants and the New Social Order." Ph.D. Dissertation. Cornell University.

Humphries, N.A.

- 1889 "Discussion on Mr. Ravenstein's Paper." Journal of the Royal Statistical Society. Vol. 52, June. P. 302.

Instituto Nacional de Colonización (INC)

- 1974 "Resumen de Colonias y Familias Asentadas en Zonas de Colonización del País a Diciembre 1974." La Paz. Instituto Nacional de Colonización.
- 1970 "La Colonización en Bolivia." La Paz. Departamento de Promoción de Miraciones y Servicios Sociales.

Jackson, J.A.

- 1968 Migration. Sociological Studies No. 2. Cambridge. Cambridge University Press.

Jisunú

- 1974 Revista de la Academia de las Culturas Nativas del Oriente Boliviano. Vols. 1 and 2. Septiembre y Diciembre. Santa Cruz.

Jones, David E.

- 1968 Sanapia. Comanche Medicine Woman. Case Studies in Cultural Anthropology. George and Louise Spindler, General Eds. New York. Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Lanning, James Walter

- 1971 "The Old Colony Mennonites of Bolivia: A Case Study." Unpublished M.S. Thesis. Texas A and M University.

Lee, Everett

- 1968 "A Theory of Migration." Pp. 282-297 in J.A. Jackson (Ed.) Migration. Sociological Studies No. 2. Cambridge. Cambridge University Press.

Lewis, Oscar.

- 1965 La Vida. A Puerto Rican Family in the Culture of Poverty--San Juan and New York. New York. Random House.

Linton, Ralph

- 1965 "Nativistic Movements." Pp. 499-506 in William A. Lessa and Evon Z. Vogt (Eds.) Reader in Comparative Religion. New York. Harper and Row.

Mangin, William

- 1973 "Sociological, Cultural and Political Characteristics of Some Urban Migrants in Peru." Pp. 315-350 in A. Southall (Ed.) Urban Anthropology. New York and London. Oxford University Press.

Margolis, Maxine

- 1973 The Moving Frontier. University of Florida Latin American Monograph Series, No. 11. Gainesville. University of Florida Press.

Mintz, Sidney and Eric Wolf.

- 1967 "An Analysis of Ritual Co-parenthood (Compadrazgo)." Pp. 174-199 in Jack M. Potter et al. Peasant Society. Boston. Little, Brown and Company.

Municipalidad de Montero

- 1975 Libro de la Renta de la Ciudad de Montero. Montero.

Murra, John (Ed.)

- 1972 "El control Vertical de un Máximo de Pisos Ecológicos en la Economía de las Sociedades Andinas." In Visita de la Provincia de León de Huánaco. Tomo II. Huánaco. Universidad Nacional H. Valdizan.

Orbigny, Alcide d'

- 1835-1847 Voyage dans l'Amerique Meridionale. Strasbourg. Ve. Levrault.

Orellana S., Carlos L.

- 1973 "Mixtec Migrants in Mexico City: A Case Study of Urbanization." Human Organization. Vol. 32, No. 3. Fall. Pp. 273-283.

Parke, Robert

- 1928 "Human Migration and Marginal Man." The American Journal of Sociology. Vol. 3, No. 6. May. Pp. 881-93.

Pool, D.I.

- 1968 "The Number and Type of Conjugal Unions as Correlates of Level of Fertility and Attitudes to Family Limitations in Ghana." Paper presented to the Annual Meeting of the Population Association of America. Boston. April 18-20.

Ravenstein, E.G.

- 1889 "The Laws of Migration." Journal of the Royal Statistical Society. Vol. 52. June. Pp. 241-301.
- 1885 "The Laws of Migration." Journal of the Royal Statistical Society. Vol. 48, No. 2. June. Pp. 167-227.

Reye, Ulrich

- 1974 "Características y Problemas del Desarrollo Económico de Santa Cruz (Macrodiagnóstico Regional)." Planificación Regional Santa Cruz. Santa Cruz. Comité de Obras Públicas. Documento de Trabajo No. 32. Agosto.

Richmond, Anthony

- 1968 "Migration in Industrial Societies." Pp. 238-281 in J.A. Jackson (Ed.) Migration. Cambridge. Cambridge University Press.

Roberts, Bryan R.

- 1973 Organizing Strangers: Poor Families in Guatemala. Austin and London. University of Texas Press.

Romero Loza, Jose

- 1974 Bolivia: Nación en Desarrollo. La Paz. Editorial "Los Amigos del Libro."

Royden, Thomas and E. Boyd Wennergren

- 1973 "The Impact of Access Roads on Spontaneous Colonization." USU Series 23/73 Logan, Utah. Utah State University.

Sanabria Fernández, Hernando

- 1973 Breve Historia de Santa Cruz. Colección Ayer y Hoy. La Paz. Librería Editorial "Juventud."

Simmons, Ozzie G.

- 1955 "The Criollo Outlook in the Mestizo Culture of Coastal Peru." American Anthropologist. Vol. 57. Pp. 107-117.

Solari, Tito

- 1975 Census of the Yapacaní Colony. San Carlos, Bolivia.

Solíz, Edmundo Franco

- 1974 "Estudio de Pre-factibilidad Económica del Proyecto de Enlacetado de 100.000 metros cuadrados de calles en la Localidad de Montero...". La Paz. Noviembre.

Stearman, Michael

- 1967 "Letter to Incoming Peace Corps Director." Cochabamba.

Stoltman, Joseph P. and John M. Ball

- 1971 "Migration and the Local Economic Factor in Rural Mexico." Human Organization. Vol. 30. Spring. Pp. 47-56.

Thompson, Stephen

- 1968 "Religious Conversion and Religious Zeal in an Overseas Enclave: The Case of the Japanese in Bolivia." Anthropological Quarterly. Vol. 41, No. 4. October. Pp. 201-208.

Turner, John

- 1970 "Barriers and Channels for Housing Development in Modernizing Countries." Pp 1-19 in William Mangin (Ed.) Peasants in Cities. Boston. Houghton Mifflin Company.



Urquidi, Jose Macedonio

- 1944 Compendio de la Historia de Bolivia. Buenos Aires.  
Talleres Gráficos EGLH.

Vance, Rupert B.

- 1952 "Is Theory for Demographers?" Social Forces.  
Vol. 31. October. Pp. 9-13.

Ward, Barbara

- 1960 "Cash or Credit Crops? An Examination of Some  
Implications of Peasant Commercial Production with  
Special Reference to the Multiplicity of Traders  
and Middlemen." Economic Development and Cultural  
Change. Vol. 8, No. 2. January. Pp. 148-163.

Whiteford, Scott

- 1972 "Bolivian Migrant Labor in Argentina: A Second  
Cybernetics Case." Paper presented at the 71st  
Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological  
Association. Toronto.

Whiteford, Scott and Richard N. Adams

- 1973 "Migration, Ethnicity and Adaptation: Bolivian  
Migrant Workers in Northwest Argentina." Symposium  
on Migration and Ethnicity. International Congress  
of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences.  
Chicago.

Wilkie, Richard W.

- 1968 "On the Theory of Process in Human Geography: A  
Case Study of Migration in Rural Argentina." Ph.D.  
Dissertation. University of Washington.

Winsberg, Morton D.

- 1969 "Jewish Agricultural Colonization in Entre Rios,  
Argentina: II." American Journal of Economics.  
Vol. 28. April. Pp. 179-191.
- 1968 "Jewish Agricultural Colonization in Entre Rios,  
Argentina: I." American Journal of Economics.  
Vol. 27. July-October. Pp. 285-95; 423-438.

Zondag, Cornelius H.

- 1968 La Economia Boliviana. La Paz. Editorial "Los  
Amigos del Libro."

## BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Allyn Mac Lean Stearman was born in Los Angeles, California, on May 2, 1943. She attended California public schools until 1960 when she entered the University of California at Santa Barbara. Her course of study at Santa Barbara comprised a major in Spanish language and literature with minors in art and education. Ms. Stearman received the B.A. degree with Honors in June, 1964. That same month she was invited to participate in a training program for prospective Peace Corps volunteers at the University of Oklahoma at Norman. After completing training, she was sent to eastern Bolivia to work in rural community development. At the close of her four years' tour of service in Bolivia, she married Michael Stearman, a fellow volunteer.

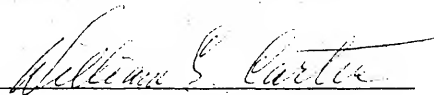
After working for a year as a recruiting team for the Peace Corps in Atlanta, Georgia, in 1969 the Stearmans moved to Gainesville, Florida, where Mr. Stearman enrolled at the University of Florida. Ms. Stearman was employed by the University of Florida Libraries as the Library Assistant for the Latin American Collection. She also began at this time course work in anthropology. In 1972, Ms. Stearman received an NDEA Title VI Graduate

Fellowship and began full-time studies in anthropology. She received her M.A. degree in the latter subject in December, 1973.

As the result of having been awarded a Social Science Research Council Latin American Dissertation Fellowship in 1974, Ms. Stearman returned to eastern Bolivia in 1975 to complete field research for the Ph.D. degree. Upon her return to the United States, she began teaching anthropology at Florida Technological University in Orlando, Florida, and will continue on the faculty as Visiting Assistant Professor of Anthropology in September, 1976.

Ms. Stearman has published an article in Human Organization, "Colonization in Eastern Bolivia--Problems and Prospects," and an ethnography of the village of San Carlos under the title San Rafael--Camba Town. The Stearmans reside in Eustis, Florida, and have two children, Garrett and Erin.

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.



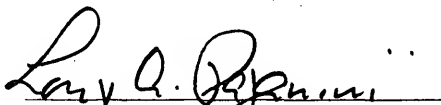
William E. Carter, Chairman  
Professor of Anthropology

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.



Paul L. Doughty  
Professor of Anthropology

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.



Louis A. Paganini  
Assistant Professor of  
Geography

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Maxine Margolis

Maxine Margolis  
Associate Professor of  
Anthropology

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Thomas D. Boswell

Thomas D. Boswell  
Assistant Professor of  
Geography

This dissertation was submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the Department of Anthropology in the College of Arts and Sciences and to the Graduate Council, and was accepted as partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

August, 1976

\_\_\_\_\_  
Dean, Graduate School